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JPRS Report

Soviet Union

KOMMUNIST

No 13, September 1987

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JPRS-UKO-87-020

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EDITORIAL—The International Essence of Socialism

18020001a Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13,
Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 3-13

[Text] With full justification we are proud of the gains of socialism, the more so since they did not come to us easily: they are the result of a lengthy and dedicated struggle, involving heavy sacrifices, the stubborn efforts of many generations, their infinite loyalty to the homeland, and their courage, dedication and inflexibility in times of severe trials. However, we should neither limit ourselves to this legitimate pride nor allow it to grow into complacency and arrogance. The gains and advantages of socialism are not a museum exhibit but a live and continuing cause of a great revolution. We must comprehensively increase our gains and apply to the fullest extent all the historical advantages of socialism so that the powerful motive forces it brings to life can reveal more fully their constructive potential and work for acceleration.

This fully applies to the new motive forces within Soviet society, which were created as a result of the socialist solution of the national problem. In this area, our achievements are particularly great and obvious. However, the complacency we displayed in previous decades was rather somnolent, one may say.

The social sciences fell substantially behind: despite the abundance of monographs and dissertations, the theory of this problem was developed inadequately. The problems which arose in the course of practical life were ignored or not interpreted promptly. As was noted at the January Central Committee Plenum, "Instead of objective study of real phenomena in the realm of national relations and the analysis of the actual socioeconomic and spiritual processes, which were quite complex and contradictory, for a long time some of our social scientists preferred to write treatises of a 'congratulatory' nature, which occasionally sounded more like starry-eyed toasts than serious scientific studies." The greatest admission one dared express in assessing national processes was the acknowledgment that under socialism as well they are "not problem-free."

In practical activities as well, obviously insufficient attention was being paid to such problems and it was not accepted even to mention the errors made in the area of national relations. This lowered the efficiency of the tremendous motive force in the development of our society, such as the Leninist friendship among the peoples of the USSR, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

The socialist solution of the national problem is one of the greatest accomplishments of the October Revolution and a supreme achievement of human civilization. Throughout the centuries, whatever social systems may have existed, relations among nations and among people of different nationalities and races had remained the

stumbling stone in social life and a constant source of hostility and discord, either smoldering or bursting out in the form of social cataclysms and wars. It was only the victorious proletarian revolution that put an end to this stupid "tradition."

The elimination of the exploiting system and the building of a society based on the principles of social equality and justice make possible the practical implementation of Marx's and Engels' prediction that "together with the antagonism among classes within the nations hostile relations among nations as well will disappear" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 445). In the struggle for socialism and in making socialist changes in a multinational country, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party paid the closest possible attention to the theoretical and practical problems of national building. During the very first years of the Soviet system, Lenin could say with full justification that "...these are problems which concerned the European countries for hundreds of years and which were solved within an insignificant amount of time within the democratic republics. We are solving them...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 122) (subsequent references to V.I. Lenin's "Complete Collected Works" will indicate volume and page only).

The steady unification of the working people of all nationalities was ensured through the systematic and firm implementation of the party's profoundly scientific program concerning the national problem (it is true that the wrong steps were taken in solving some problems. However, the party corrected and is correcting such errors and their consequences). Prime attention was paid to the upsurge of the economy and the culture of the national outlying areas. Many small ethnic groups were literally rescued from oblivion and death. The Soviet system, the working class and the Bolshevik Party did everything possible to help them to surmount their age-old backwardness and convert from semifeudal and feudal life and from a patriarchal and clan system to confident participation in building a socialist civilization within a single fraternal family of equal nations.

As a result of the radical socioeconomic and cultural changes which were made within a short historical time, essentially new international relations developed in the country which, as was the case with the entire system of socialist social relations, were characterized by collectivistic principles and comradely cooperation and mutual aid. A historically new social and international community—the Soviet people—developed on the basis of the level reached in socioeconomic, state-political and spiritual unity.

The successful solution of the national problem provides us with no grounds whatsoever to consider it as no longer part of the agenda and to remove it from our theoretical and political concerns. National relations and their reflection in social awareness and in the mentality, views and behavior of the people are a live, a dynamic reality

which sensitively reacts to the condition of the economy, the development of the social sphere and all successes and difficulties in state and cultural building. We must make a maximally complete and objective study and become familiar with this reality. We must pay attention to all new phenomena and all facts of social significance, including those which deviate from the overall normal course of life of developing socialism. Unfortunately, however, negative phenomena which clash with the spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalist principles and which harm the friendship among the peoples of the USSR exist: this is the effect of years of stagnation, the accumulation of unsolved vital problems, bureaucratic distortions and, under these circumstances, the revival of antisocial elements. It is inadmissible to ignore any such fact or to shut one's eyes to it. "It is part of the traditions of bolshevism," M.S. Gorbachev recalled at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "that a principled struggle must be waged against any manifestations of national exclusivity and boastfulness, nationalism, chauvinism, parochialism, Zionism and anti-Semitism, in whatever forms they manifest themselves. We must always remember that nationalism and proletarian internationalism are two opposite policies, two opposite outlooks."

Forgetting this truth in ideological and organizational work and lowering our attention to the development of national relations could, as practical experience has demonstrated, contribute to the revival of vestiges and prejudices of a nationalistic slant and have a painful effect on the ideological and moral atmosphere in the life of social groups in areas where the phenomena of stagnation of the preceding period were particularly strong. After a profound study of the reasons and conditions for the familiar excesses that broke out in Alma-Ata last December, the party firmly condemned the errors and distortions in national policy allowed by the previous leadership of the republic. It formulated a system of steps to prevent such occurrences which are incompatible with our social standards and socialist way of life. The CPSU Central Committee resolution on the work of the party organization of Kazakhstan for the international and patriotic upbringing of the working people is of essential party-wide significance. Errors and breakdowns in national relations are particularly dangerous, for they affect live human destinies and leave long traces behind them.

In the life of a multinational country problems of development of the economy, social relations, cadre policy, culture, language and spiritual life as a whole cannot be considered separately from national relations, ignoring the national feelings which are deep-seated in each nation and people. Principle-mindedness and tactfulness, a considered approach and sensible caution are needed in approaching any problem, whether big or "small." Practical decisions and actions should be such that the national feelings of the people are of a clearly oriented socialist nature, so that there would be not even the slightest loophole for speculations and aberrations of

a nationalistic nature. One nationalism cannot be pitted against another or against chauvinism. Views and mores on the national problem alien to us we counter with proletarian and socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism, which is shared by all nations and nationalities in the USSR, and love for one's socialist fatherland, for the land of our fathers and grandfathers, a land in which a person was born and grew up.

Soviet patriotism is a historically new phenomenon born of the new social system. However, its roots are inordinately deep, blending together the ancient patriotic feelings of more than 100 Soviet peoples, traced back to the age-old expectations of the working people of all nationalities for a just life and to their struggle for freedom and against oppressors and foreign aggressors. This patriotism developed and strengthened in the course of revolutionary battles and in the joint building of a new life. The friendship among the peoples of the USSR and the unity of their interests and fraternity were cemented by the blood shed during the Great Patriotic War; its sons, who fell in the battles for freedom and the independence of the single socialist homeland, rest together in common graves.

During those infinitely hard trials the peoples of nationalities were united and inspired by the great Russian people, whose courage, firmness and inflexible character set an inspiring example of unbreakable will for victory and for the mass heroism displayed by representatives of all nations and nationalities of our huge homeland. The wounds caused by the war were healed through the joint labor of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Soviet patriotism has become firmly part of the social consciousness and the spiritual essence of the new type of individual born of socialism—the Soviet person.

In the way that socialist internationalism is inseparable from respecting the interests, characteristics and national dignity of each nation, Soviet patriotism combines within itself pride and responsibility for the common cause with concern for the blossoming of each nation and nationality in the country, the growth of their creative potential and their contribution to raising socialist society to a qualitatively new standard. Patriotic awareness, which played a noticeable role in the past as well, is becoming an active motive force of social development, combining within a single entity firm social feelings, developed in the course of the centuries, with the most advanced ideas of our age and the simple reactions of the human soul with the high spiritual values of socialist civilization. True patriotism is alien to bombastic exclamations and stir, for it is the patriotism of action and not words. It implies daily work for the good of the homeland and concern for the acceleration of the all-round progress of our great multinational country. We must ensure the acceleration and intensification of the socialist progress of the nations and ethnic groups in the USSR, ensure the level of the close interaction and comprehensive rapprochement among them and secure

the further enhancement of the authority and efficiency of the ideas and values of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism in the social consciousness and in social practice.

In our approach to the contemporary reality of national relations, the interrelated processes of the blossoming and rapprochement among nations and ethnic groups in the USSR, and the problems of intensification of the internationalization of all social life, from its economic foundations to the "higher levels" of spiritual culture, we must make use of the entire wealth of revolutionary theory and communist outlook. Particularly important are the Leninist theory of the national problem and the entire tremendous and varied 70-year old experience in the implementation of the Leninist national policy in the comprehensive activities of the Communist Party and Soviet state. The task set at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum of reviving as fully as possible under contemporary conditions the spirit of Leninism entirely applies to the theoretical interpretation and practical solution of this range of problems as well.

The basic, the most essential features of Leninist doctrine of the national problem and Leninist national policy are of permanent significance: they are relevant in the theoretical interpretation of contemporary national processes and the practical solution of problems which arise in the course of the development of the multinational socialist society. This applies, first of all, to profound historicism—the ability to see the national problem in a broad sociohistorical context, based on the knowledge of fundamental laws concerning social life and considering it as closely interrelated to the basic trends in the development of the economy, politics and culture. Second, it is the class approach, the assessment of the progress made in national relations from the viewpoint of serving the struggle for socialism and communism and against social stagnation, conservatism, and ethnocentrism. Third, it implies essential humanism and democracy—an orientation toward the organic combination of individual with general interests, national features with universal values of civilization and culture, principled rejection of the ideology and psychology of national egotism and of prejudices of national aloofness and exclusivity.

One of the main starting points of Lenin's theory of the national problem is the study of two contradictory and divergent trends in the process of the establishment of nations and their interrelationships. "Developing capitalism," Lenin wrote in 1913, "is familiar with two historical trends within the national problem. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression and the creation of national states. The second is the development and increased frequency of all sorts of relations among nations, the elimination of national barriers and the creation of international unity of capital and economic life in general, politics, science, etc.

"Both trends are the essence of the global law of capitalism. The first predominates at the start of its development while the second characterizes mature capitalism, which is advancing toward its conversion into a socialist society. The Marxist national program takes both trends into consideration..." (vol 24, p 124).

In terms of the contemporary nonsocialist world, this concept explains many aspects of the development and future of the national liberation struggle waged by the peoples against imperialism and helps us to understand its complexity and contradictoriness. But how does it relate to a society in which the power of the bourgeoisie was overthrown a long time ago and in which socialism was built? What current problems in the development of national relations could it help us to understand better? This question may seem sensible. However, not everything is all that simple.

As to the second of these trends, it is more or less clear that contemporary history is developing in such a way that "all economic, political and spiritual life of society is becoming increasingly internationalized while still under capitalism. Socialism internationalizes it entirely" (vol 23, p 318). This truth has been comprehensibly confirmed by historical experience. The process of internationalization of the life of Soviet nations and ethnic groups in the course of building socialism meant equalizing the conditions of their development, urging on, through joint efforts, those who had fallen behind. A unified planned economy, a single system of socialist social relations, the power of a union-wide statehood, based on the principles of socialist democracy, and a cultural and ideological commonality which stimulates the reciprocal enrichment of spiritual life are all factors which lead to the creation of favorable conditions for the progress of each nation and ethnic group in the country and, at the same time (and thanks to this) contributes to the further strengthening of rapprochement and cohesion.

The case of the first trend is more complex. In order to understand the place and role of this Leninist concept in the approach to national processes in contemporary Soviet society, we must turn to historical experience and to other Leninist concepts which characterize the features of building socialism in our country, the "starting conditions," so to say, which are both objective and subjective. Only 4 years prior to the October Revolution, Vladimir Ilich had written that "Russia's characteristic is the power of the proletariat, unparalleled compared to the age of bourgeois revolutions, and a terrible overall backwardness of the country, which objectively requires the exceptionally fast and decisive forward movement, with the risk of all sorts of disadvantages and defeats" (vol 24, p 138). Under such most difficult circumstances, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party accomplished the greatest possible exploit by leading the people to revolution.

Naturally, after the victory of the October Revolution the task of eliminating backwardness (which was monstrous in the national outlying areas) arose with particular urgency and Lenin constantly drew the party's

attention to it. Thus, in one of his last articles, "On the Cooperative," he once again repeated that "in our country the political and social coup was the predecessor of the type of cultural change, the cultural revolution which we are still facing" (vol 45, p 377). Lenin understood the cultural revolution in very broad terms, including within it the level of education of the population, professional training, the political consciousness of the working people, the "system of civilized members of cooperatives," life styles under the conditions of a democratic organization and ensuring the "comprehensive" participation of the citizens in the administration of the state. Obviously, some of these problems have not been fully solved to this day. It is equally clear that such sociohistorical gaps (which may be found in all republics and, sometimes, even in specific areas within them, which makes it incumbent upon us to engage in their thorough study in order to be able more specifically to determine the nature of our organizational and ideological-educational work) cannot fail to affect—sometimes quite adversely—normal development of socialist, including national, social relations.

The difficult "starting conditions" in which socialist changes in our country were initiated and developed predetermined the fact that in addition to the broad processes of internationalization of social life the processes of the establishment and development of nations and ethnic groups developed no less intensively. It is a question not only of the economic, social and cultural progress of equal nations freed from all oppression but also of the uniquely tempestuous national-state building, unknown before the October Revolution and the founding of the USSR, which gave a particularly strong impetus to the enhancement of national self-awareness. Ever new union and autonomous republics and other forms of national statehood, such as autonomous oblasts and okrugs, appeared; statehood was gained by ethnic groups which had never had it before. The lack of experience in the democratic organization of national life was one of the sociohistorical gaps which could painfully affect the development of some social relations and social awareness. In this area the further strengthening of the inter-relationship between the forms of union and national statehood is called upon to correct any possible shortcuts and errors.

Phenomena remaining from previous ages, including some which are alien to socialism, may remain for long periods of time in the area of traditions and customs of daily life and the awareness and mentality of the masses. For that reason, Lenin wrote, after the victory of the proletarian revolution a stubborn struggle against "the forces and traditions of the old society" will continue for a long time. "The force of habit of millions and tens of millions of people is a most fearful force" (vol 41, p 27). Frequently conservative and even regressive elements survived side-by-side with truly live and progressive cultural values within a given nation or ethnic group, labeled as "national traditions," although unquestionably, it would be more apt to relate a given phenomenon,

which has historically become obsolete but clings to our time, not to "national specifics" but to an entirely specific and now vanished social system or social stratum.

This systematically oriented class approach fully coincides with the requirements of universal human progress in assessing the legacy of previous ages. In our time, under the conditions of a developed socialist society, not only the remnants of a tribal way of life and not only feudal customs and patriarchalism, of which we speak frequently, for they are more apparent today, in the final quarter of the 20th century, appear like archaic features without a future, but also so do the remaining vestiges of philistine, bourgeois and petit-bourgeois elements of ideology, culture and morality which nurture nationalistic feelings and views. Any confusion in such manners is absolutely inappropriate and, furthermore, harmful, as is any effort to abandon in the course of their interpretation or solution the social criteria or specific political and ideological assessments: the false lining of "national specifics" conceals phenomena alien to socialism and directly conflicting with its principles and ideals and requirements of social justice and, essentially, express merely the egotistical group and corporate interests, the struggle for a "warm place," undeserved privileges and income, etc.

For example, efforts to restore kinship relations and include them in the structure of socialist social relations and efforts to create something like privileged permanent groups (or, in other words, actually to take the place of a no longer extant privileged stratum) have been made in a number of republics which converted to socialism while bypassing capitalism. To a certain extent this did take place: it was "helped" by the stagnation in social life, bureaucratic distortions in the work of administrative authorities and violations of the Leninist principles of cadre policy. Such phenomena cannot be tolerated. "We do not wish," Lenin wrote, "to adapt socialism to nationalism" (vol 24, p 238).

Love of one's own nation does not mean in the least the strengthening of its exclusivity, to aspire to a closed and restrictive society and to surrender to illusions of its exclusivity. Such nationalistic efforts not only contradict socialism and internationalism and the friendship among the peoples of the USSR but are most specifically antipatriotic and antinational, for they are inimical to the interests of the development of our own nation and try to turn it back. However, we shall never undertake to adapt socialism to nationalism. No one should doubt the fact that in matters of principle no concessions are possible. What makes a principle what it is is that it cannot be waved.

It is particularly inadmissible when national arguments are exploited by a variety of political rascals and extremists. They abuse openness and democracy in an effort to present themselves as spokesmen for public opinion, defenders of national dignity, custodians of historical

legacy, and even, in the spirit of our time, fighters for restructuring, resorting to a most unbridled social demagoguery and persecution of anyone who disagrees with them, promoting a split between "their own" and "the others" on the basis of national features.

Their reliance on permissiveness and anarchy under conditions of extensive democratization and openness is mistaken. It is precisely the principles of Soviet democracy and the requirements of its further development that do not allow us to ignore even a single case of malicious political hooliganism objectively aimed at undermining the most valuable achievements of socialism—the friendship among the peoples of the USSR, the international unity of the working people, the principles and norms of the socialist way of life and a healthy ideological and moral atmosphere in society. Our base is the further democratization of social life, the strengthened fairness of public opinion and the growing political activeness of the masses.

Another intolerable feature is the still remaining indifference and tolerance displayed by some party, soviet and economic cadres toward the vestiges of the past in the minds and behavior of the people, and customs which denigrate human dignity and openly conflict with the standards of the Soviet way of life, socialist democracy and humanism and our laws and morality. Frequent references are made to the "stability" and "durability" of traditions in order to justify inertia in organizational and ideological education work, and their low results. Harmful customs and obsolete features of daily life, conservative views and cultural standards endure above all because they operate within a kind of system, "clinging" to each other. For example, it is no accident that prejudices, religious beliefs or even simply harmful local traditions are linked to ethnic affiliations. Second, something which is important from the practical viewpoint, the vestiges of past ages turn out particularly durable and resistant wherever the solution of sociocultural problems has been neglected and little attention is being paid to the development of the social sphere on the level of the requirements of socialist civilization: lag in housing and sociocultural building, poorly organized trade and medical and cultural consumer services, and belittling the role of the educational and training systems, for which reason schools and children's preschool institutions have neglected physical culture, sports and tourism. Under such circumstances the ideological struggle against obsolete views, customs and traditions finds itself nowhere and turns into verbal appeals. Particularly clear in this case is the great political importance of the implementation of the party's active and strong social policy.

The elimination of social backwardness is directly correlated to upgrading production efficiency in the spirit of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the June Central Committee Plenum. The acceleration of socioeconomic development also means upgrading the education and professional skills of working people, the fuller utilization of local (in some areas surplus) manpower,

the comprehensive enhancement of the human factor as a consequence of the initiated reform in the economic mechanism, the increased individual and collective interest in labor results and the broadening of democracy in production.

The development of production forces in the union republics and the elimination of all stagnation in production relations will unquestionably contribute not only to strengthening facilities for the solution of imminent sociocultural problems but also to improving the social atmosphere. Frequently the population of one area or another feels itself deprived precisely because it compares the conditions of its work and way of life to the models reported by the mass information media and, whenever this applies to other republics or people of a different nationality, feelings of national jealousy and hurt may appear. This may apply to villages in the Russian Nonchernozem, the Central Asian villages, the high-mountain Caucasian villages and many settlements and small towns in various parts of the country, west, east, north and south. Naturally, reliance on the help of the state and mutual aid among republics remains. However, it is local initiative, local undertaking, economic autonomy and enterprise on the part of labor collectives and the initiative of the population and the territorial management authorities that play a decisive role.

Such enterprise naturally involves not the building of pompous and "prestige" buildings in republic and oblast and, sometimes, even rayon centers but the active solution of social problems and the development of modern production facilities. This is what is needed to awaken national pride and national dignity! The patriotic feeling of each nation must be such as to call on the working people, on every individual, to make full use of opportunities for acceleration in their republic in the interest of the entire country. Reaching the highest possible economic production indicators, the per capita growth of the national income, world standards of labor productivity and production quality, the accelerated solution of social problems, the development of culture and the enrichment of spiritual life, the success of restructuring and democratization and the implementation of the party's call for "more socialism" can and must become objects of national pride.

The great Lenin and all of his activities set for us an example of true patriotism. We listen to the words in his article "On the National Pride of the Great Russians," which is imbued with high feeling of national dignity, profound respect for other peoples and ardent internationalism: "We are full of the feeling of national pride, for the Great Russian nation has also created a revolutionary class, and proved that it can provide mankind with great examples in the struggle for freedom and socialism and not only great pogroms, lines of gallows, jails, great hunger strikes and great servility to priests, tsars, landowners and capitalists" (vol 26, pp 107-108). Noteworthy here are two aspects: 1. The way Lenin

emphasized "also," thus blocking any idea of national exclusivity and indicating that the nation is part of universal human progress; 2. How merciless national self-criticism is and how sharply Lenin rejects anything that is reactionary in "his own" nation. This approach has not become obsolete in the least today, when historical circumstances are entirely different and when entirely different tasks are facing the Russian and other nations and ethnic groups in the Soviet Union in the struggle for progress, for the renovation of socialism, and when they must surmount other obstacles in their advance to the future, such as bureaucratism, violations of Soviet laws, social justice, sluggishness, lack of discipline, other elements of the "obstruction mechanism" and nationalistic manifestations, which directly interact with all of them. Today the national pride of each Soviet nation consists of the fact that it too contributes its energy and efforts to the accelerated development of the country, the renovation of socialism and the qualitative enhancement of the economy and culture of the homeland of the October Revolution.

The processes of comprehensive democratization of social life are of particular importance in the development of socialist society as a whole, the progress of national relations and the strengthening of the social and international community which the Soviet people represent. The development of national relations in the USSR and along the channel of friendship among the peoples and the international socialist community was secured and is being secured now, alongside basic socioeconomic changes which have been made in the course of 7 decades of Soviet system, by the principled stipulation of Leninist national policy of consistent and full democracy in relations among nations. Repeatedly and always categorically Lenin formulated this requirement in his works. He called for "no single privilege for a given nation or given language!" (vol 23, p 150). Socialist democracy is the best guarantee against any manifestations of nationalism.

The systematically democratic nature of the national policy of the Leninist Party and the Soviet state contributed to the appearance, during the very first post-October Revolution years, of a powerful unification movement among nations and ethnic groups in the country and their voluntary unification within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. From the very beginning this democracy was not of a formal nature, for it was based on a thorough consideration of the specific socioeconomic and cultural-historical interests of each nation in the solution of the common problems. "Our experience," Lenin said in the 5th year of the Soviet system, the year of the founding of the USSR, "developed within us the inflexible conviction that it is only a tremendous attentiveness toward the interests of the different nations that can eliminate grounds for conflicts, reciprocal mistrust and fear of any type of intrigues, creating the trust, particularly among workers and peasants speaking different languages, without

which peaceful relations among nations or any whatsoever successful development of anything that if valuable in contemporary civilization would be absolutely impossible" (vol 45, p 240).

In our time as well paying attention to such problems assumes new dimensions in connection with the increased mobility of the population, the migration of working people and the multinational structure of the population of each union and autonomous republic. The strengthening of all types of international reciprocal relations, the further democratization of social life, concern for the necessary participation of people from all nationalities in representative authorities, the comprehensive development of relations of comradely cooperation, intensification of linguistic and cultural interaction on the basis of the better mastery of the language of international communication and strengthening bilingualism in the republics, equal status of all languages and the strengthening of patriotic and internationalist upbringing are our road to progress in national relations and of eliminating deviations in this area from the principles of socialism and the ideals and standards of socialist humanism.

Essentially, each aspect in the development of national relations is theoretically clear in general and as a whole (although there is tremendous hope here for the study of specific situations and for broad summations). However, a great deal of omissions in practical work have accumulated in recent decades! Suffice it to point out that in many republics and in areas with multinational population there is a shortage of Russian language teachers in schools in which subjects are taught in the national language and, conversely, a shortage of teachers of national languages in schools offering training in the Russian language. Socialist competition among republics and among labor collectives, cities, villages, rayons and oblasts has become largely formal and reduced to paperwork and superficial contacts. Many shortcomings exist in developing standards of international intercourse. These and other similar problems must be the constant subject of practical concern of party committees, state and public organizations, the artistic and teaching intelligentsia and the broadest possible public.

The building of a socialist civilization in the area of spiritual culture and in reshaping the mentality and customs of the masses continues and, furthermore, must be intensified. This determines the high responsibility of the artistic, scientific and pedagogical intelligentsia in ensuring the ever fuller and firmer assertion of the principles and norms of the socialist way of life in various areas. In developing high standards of national feelings and showing a concerned attitude of the best traditions and features of national mentality, the progressive Soviet intelligentsia must be irreconcilable toward any manifestations of subjectivism or any prejudice or political thoughtlessness in this important and complex area. Neither actions nor words which harm the

friendship among the peoples, hurt anyone's national dignity or belittle the value of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism have any place here.

A solicitous attitude toward the cultural heritage of each nation and preserving, under the new conditions, anything that will be of value to the future have nothing in common with any sociohistorical or aesthetic omnivorousness or, even less so, efforts to present as "people's" or "national" fragments of obsolete bourgeois, serfdom, tribal or patriarchal spiritual and behavioral standards. Such phenomena and elements must be assessed on the basis of the scientific positions of Marxist-Leninist historicism, the viewpoint of the Leninist theory of the two cultures and the views formulated by Lenin on maintaining a systematic class approach to the building of the future socialist civilization and its spiritual culture. "International culture, which is already being developed systematically by the proletariat of all countries," he wrote in his "Theses on the National Question," "does not encompass the 'national culture' (of any given national collective) as a whole but takes from each national culture exclusively its consistently democratic and socialist elements" (vol 23, p 318). Lenin amended this principled position neither before nor after the revolution.

The pride in the gains of socialism, which was the first system in history to eliminate the socioeconomic and political roots of hostility and discord among nations, and the aspiration to accelerate its further development during our transitional age and to enhance the standards of society through revolutionary restructuring and the renovation of all aspects of its life, raising them to a qualitatively new level, are today the main content of the feelings, awareness and practical manifestations of Soviet patriotism. In developing such patriotism we inevitably develop an internationalist awareness, for Soviet patriotism excludes any kind of national narrow-mindedness and parochial limitations; instead, it displays an aspiration to nationwide objectives, responsibility for the entire country and pride in the universal-historical mission of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people who, 70 years ago, became historical pioneers and are heading the struggle for peace and social progress on earth.

There is yet another important facet to this problem, another aspect in the importance of providing a proper solution to the national problem, indicated by Lenin. The peoples of the world look at our country as a model, as a source of innovative historical experience, for which reason all of our accomplishments in this area make a tremendous impact. However, any "breakdown," any error or any excess also become targets of universal attention: the anti-Soviets try to inflate them and the broad toiling masses in the nonsocialist world—both our friends and the neutral observers—tensely await on each such occasion the resolution of such situations.

The systematic and principle-minded implementation of the Leninist national policy, the strict observance of the requirements of social justice and socialist legality, the broadening and intensification of Soviet democracy, the steady strengthening of relations of comradeship, mutual aid and collectivism and the establishment on all levels of social life of a creative, active and optimistic ideological and moral atmosphere are the best way leading to the multiplication of the gains of the October Revolution in the realm of relations among nations, the further strengthening of the friendship among the peoples of the USSR and strengthening the authority and efficiency of Soviet patriotism and the international fraternity of all nations and nationalities in our homeland.

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Important Component of Restructuring

18020001b Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 14-26

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[Text] Real democratization in national economic management, extensive conversion to economic methods and standards, making active use of commodity-monetary relations and eliminating shortages and imbalances are all problems which can be solved only with a radical reform in price setting. That is why the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized that such a reform is a most important component of economic management restructuring.

The price and rate system used in the national economy was essentially developed under conditions of extensive economic development related to increased involvement of labor and natural resources in production, oriented toward a limited and equalized level of personal consumption in terms of volume and structure and maximal centralization in economic decision making. The observance of these requirements in price setting was manifested in the systematically ensuring the invariable concentration of all types of specific prices setting by the center, regardless of production and consumption conditions.

Subjectivistic and arbitrary concepts of price setting significantly influenced the shaping of the price system. As a result, shortcomings accumulated in this area more than anywhere else. For a long time the objective laws of commodity-monetary relations, on which planned price setting is theoretically and practically based, were ignored, and from an efficient economic instrument and a planned standard for production, costs and efficiency, prices essentially turned into a planning-accountability measure.

The changes which developed in natural and material proportions in the area of material production, and the related changes in social needs, inadequately reflected in prices because of their long stability and orientation toward outlays and the conditions of the past, led to the accumulation of huge stockpiles of material values in the funded allocation of commodities, meanwhile creating severe shortages of some types of raw and other materials, complementing goods, machines and equipment. This created an imbalance in the material and value structures of the entire public product and national income and began to hinder the country's development ever more tangibly.

The exaggerated view of the advantages of a stable price policy, which actually turned, for the sake of its adaptation to the practice of the administrative-command management system, into a demand for inflexibility, in the course of which neither prices nor rates are reviewed over long periods of time, developed into an ossification of a price system, making it subjectivistic and outlay-oriented.

Prices failed to reflect the new processes in the economy and changed only whenever a stagnation or decline in production developed. Steps taken to improve individual prices and rates were uncoordinated, taken with great delays and oriented toward existing rather than future production and consumption conditions.

Price revisions in the national economy were local. On each individual occasion and at different times they applied to commodities produced by individual sectors: wholesale prices in industry, purchase prices in agriculture, price estimates and standards in construction, etc. As a whole, the price system remained unchanged although changes within it were necessitated by the economic situation. Invariably and always on a new level it preserved the overall trend in ensuring the low cost of fuel-energy, raw material and manpower resources. For that reason, price setting, which reacted only to partial changes in production conditions within a given sector, could not be used as a tool of management which could direct the national economy toward upgrading its efficiency, stimulate the all-round utilizations of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and create working conditions based on the principles of self-support and self-financing.

The level of wholesale prices in industry was raised after 1955 by a factor of 2.7 in coal mining, 3.8 in petroleum extraction, 2 in the gas industry and 2.4 in timber procurements. Within the same period purchase prices of agricultural commodities were raised by a factor of 4.6, including a factor of 5.6 for animal husbandry products. State food retail prices have remained stable since 1962.

The lack of coordination in price revisions in time and the limitations which governed the overall structure of prices and income artificially reduced the necessary

changes in individual prices and their influence on changes in value ratios. This was the result of steadily increasing subsidies which compensated for disparities in producer and consumer prices and the groundless need for production facilities to work at a loss, and led to an increase in the official income figure, based on budgetary and intrasectorial reallocations, and to an imbalance in finances and monetary circulation, which developed on this basis. Whereas in 1965 state price subsidies totaled 3.6 billion rubles, today it is in excess of 73 billion. A significant percentage of enterprises and organizations work at a loss and some commodities produced by enterprises which, as a whole, are profitable, are also sold at a loss. In the long term, if the current price system is retained, we can assume that subsidies will increase faster than the national income.

The current price system, which passively followed the negative trends in the area of production outlays and efficiency, did not bring to light the unsatisfactory management of enterprises and organizations or the groundless lowering of planned assignments. This deformed the structure of net income realized through prices. Substantial and frequently unjustified disparities developed in the profitability of individual economic sectors—in industry, agriculture, transportation, trade and others. The bulk of the net social income used for accumulation and consumption, which is today the main source of budget financing of social consumption funds and capital investments in industry and in other economic sectors, is realized through current wholesale prices in the form of industrial profits and turnover tax on industrial output. Profitability in industry is higher than in other economic sectors. In machine building it is higher than the average for industry. That is why in order to stimulate the development and production of new equipment prices should include even greater profitability. In practice it is frequently necessary either to include in advance in the price in increased outlays by the consumer or to abandon the installation of new equipment or to update produced commodities.

The situation is further aggravated by the fact that price increases in the fuel and raw material sectors, which were made in 1967 and 1982, did not correspond to actual extraction costs. Furthermore, due to the worsening of mining and geological conditions and higher labor costs in the extracting sectors, the cost per ton of basic fuel-raw material resources continued to increase in recent years while price levels remained unchanged, although raw material deposits are nonrecoverable and becoming increasingly inaccessible.

The reduced prices of fuels and raw materials perpetuate the illusion that such resources are inexpensive and inexhaustible, thus preventing us from generating efficient interest in designing, producing and installing resource-conserving equipment. The share of savings in overall production outlays is proving to be excessively low. Nor should we ignore the fact that low internal

prices of fuel, raw materials and materials create rather false guidelines in the area of foreign trade, making exports of precisely such commodities economically profitable.

By the turn of the 1980s, higher turnover taxes, applicable primarily to prestige-oriented goods, alcohol, tobacco, and so on, increased at a higher pace. The turnover tax levied through retail prices of a limited range of consumer goods is increasingly containing a taxing element rather than becoming a means of redistribution of the net income in the interest of developing the production process. The mechanism for computing the turnover tax and its payment to the budget prior to the marketing of commodities creates a gap between the cash income of the population and the cost of goods and paid services.

As a whole, we must note that a large-scale disparity has developed in price policy among the objective production conditions which develop in the national economy, the marketing of the public product and the national income. Economic guidelines for the organization of efficient economic management of enterprises and national economic levels are disappearing. In frequent cases the actual economic ratios between commodity output and the effective utilization of material and manpower resources are distorted as a result of prices. Prices have largely lost their active role in shaping the ratios for expanded reproduction within the national economy. The main burden in the creation of the accumulation and social consumption funds falls on the financial-budgetary system, ascribing to this process a fiscal-consumerist nature. Such a price system essentially deforms the structure of social requirements and supply and demand, and does not coordinate the economic interests of producers and consumers.

The lag in the implementation of resource-conservation programs, the gap in the level of meeting assignments for commodity output in physical and value terms, between outlays and results and between the volumes of capital investments and the growth of capacities, the population's monetary income and the availability of goods for trade, the deformation in the structure of foreign trade and environmental pollution—all of these and other manifestations of an obsolete extensive and resource-wasting method in managing the public economy are largely caused by faults in the current price system.

This system, which was developed in order to meet the prerequisites for extensive development, does not provide conditions for a conversion to the new economic mechanism and the use of full cost accounting by self-supporting and self-financed associations and enterprises.

In the fuel complex today the shortage of funds for self-financing amounts to 14 billion rubles per year, although it would be difficult to overestimate the role which the sectors within this complex play in the national economy. Nor do purchase prices in agriculture

and transportation rates ensure the conversion of associations and enterprises to cost accounting. In the processing industry some losing enterprises operate alongside others which are excessively profitable.

The correlation between prices and the consumer qualities of many types of commodities and between labor outlays and results has been violated. The price-setting policy of manufacturing "expensive" machinery and having "inexpensive" resources artificially weakens incentives for the development of highly efficient equipment, technology and a productive organization and the efficient use of funds, concealing the harm which obsolete economic management methods are causing the economy.

Under such circumstances neither the system of payments for resources nor the new system for the distribution of profits, which helps to implement the principles of self-support and self-financing in the basic economic unit, can function efficiently.

It is quite clear that the price system, which has been preserved for a long time with minimal changes, should be replaced, for it does not fit into the new management system. With prices such as they are now we cannot have a new economic mechanism. We cannot stimulate to the fullest extent the growth of production efficiency and achieve a national economic balance. That is why today it is not a question of the latest partial correction of some prices and rates but of a radical reform of the entire price system.

In the course of the reform approaches consistent with the current stage in the development of our society must be applied. All units within the price-setting mechanism must be substantially restructured. At the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that "we face a need not for some kind of partial improvement in the price system but for engaging in a radical price-setting reform and interrelated restructuring of our entire price system—wholesale, purchase and retail prices and rates."

The price system must become the objective measure of labor outlays and results of economic activities and an important factor in shaping progressive ratios within the national economy and the structure of the population's solvent demand and growth of its real income. The purpose of the reform is to improve the situation in the national economy, to create better conditions for the struggle for production efficiency, resource conservation and improved quality of output and contribute to achieving a material and financial balance.

In terms of scale, depth and economic content, this work is unprecedented in our economic management practice. For the first time in the entire history of our economic building, within a short time we must develop a virtually

new system of prices entirely consistent with the current stage of development and the economic management system on the basis of the following basic requirements:

Systematically reflect in prices socially necessary outlays for commodity manufacturing and marketing and their consumer value and quality and solvent demand and take more fully in consideration payment for resources and the cost of environmental protection;

Ascribe to prices an anti-outlay nature and upgrade the incentive they provide for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and improved quality, development of new equipment, resource conservation, reduced material- and power-intensiveness of output and make extensive use of low-waste and wasteless technologies;

Undertake to plan prices and rates as a structural component of the 5-year plans so that prices may better reflect the tasks and prerequisites for the development of the national economy within the planned period and set stable economic standards;

Provide economic prerequisites for balancing within the national economy physical and value ratios and reduce unnecessary redistribution processes and unjustified subsidies;

Create economically substantiated conditions for upgrading the efficiency of cost accounting and self-financing in all national economic sectors and for the wide use of the principle paying for production assets and labor, natural and other resources;

Halt price increases by promoting economic competition and competitiveness among enterprises, eliminating scarcity and all kinds of monopoly and consumer pressure on the producer;

Ensure democratization and an optimal combination between stability and flexibility in setting prices for commodities and services on the basis of the extensive utilization of economic methods while, at the same time, strengthen the centralized principles in managing the entire price-setting process;

Substantially upgrade the role of the consumer in formulating prices and organize efficient control over the accuracy and substantiation governing price setting and use on all economic management levels;

Ensure consistency between the policy of retail prices and the enhancement of real population income and the full implementation of the principle of social justice.

In the course of the price reform, it is important radically to change price ratios in the national economy. We must substantially improve the correlation of prices of goods produced by the fuel and raw material complex and machine building, wholesale prices in industry and freight transportation rates and purchase and wholesale

prices (taking into consideration the elimination of subsidies for agricultural equipment, chemical fertilizers, and so on), retail prices of comestible goods and industrial consumer goods. The new price ratios within the national economy will mark a radical change in the ratios governing intersectorial exchanges and will ensure their equivalence.

The conversion to the new system is dictated not only by domestic interests but also by the organization of direct foreign economic relations and orientation toward exporting the output of primarily processing sectors. This too requires a fuller reflection within the prices of socially necessary labor outlays, in order economically to force our enterprises into making extensive use of global achievements and experience, putting them under conditions similar to those under which enterprises in other countries operate.

The new price and price-setting system stipulates a profound democratization in price-setting procedures and widening the practice of maximal and contractual prices; combining stability with flexibility and simplifying price setting; drastically reducing the number of prices set on a centralized basis and creating a single statewide price control system. The reform in price setting presumes the use of the following types of prices and rates:

Prices and rates set on a centralized basis for output, commodities and services of great national economic significance, approved by the USSR Council of Ministers, the State Committee for Prices, ministries, departments, councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and executive committees of soviets of people's deputies;

Contractual prices and rates which are set by ministers, departments and manufacturing enterprises, coordinated with consumers of goods for industrial-technical use and durable consumer goods, marketed on the basis of coordination with trade organizations, and goods purchased and marketed by cooperative organizations;

Independently set prices and rates approved by enterprises, organizations and cooperatives for industrial-technical goods and consumer goods and services not subject to prices set on a centralized basis and goods for use by their own trade network.

With the development of full cost accounting and wholesale trade, the use of contractual and independently set prices will be expanded substantially.

The price reform will take place on the basis of systematically conducted and mutually coordinated price revisions in all economic sectors and areas. The main and starting point in the restructuring of the price system is the revision of wholesale prices and rates in industry as the basic economic sector.

This will require, above all, for the new prices to reflect the socially necessary labor outlays in accordance with the development of the national economy in the 13th 5-year period, in order to ensure their consistency with real consumption and production conditions, stipulating within such prices a more complete assessment of the cost of labor, raw materials and natural resources and environmental protection expenditures, social insurance, professional cadre training and possibilities of lowering costs and accelerating the growth of labor productivity. It is also important to eliminate the economically unsubstantiated production losses and differences in the profitability of the production and marketing of goods and maximally to reduce government subsidies.

The pricing system in industry must become the base for objective determination of labor outlays and results of economic activities and a factor in setting progressive ratios in the development of the national economy. It must assist in the struggle for production efficiency, resource conservation and production quality under the conditions of the use of full cost accounting in enterprise work and broadened enterprise independence in accordance with the law.

The object of a revision of wholesale prices is to solve a number of essential problems leading to significant improvements in both the system and correlation of prices by type and group of commodity. Eliminating the unsubstantiated correlation between price levels of commodities produced by fuel-raw material and processing industrial sectors is a radical problem. By the middle of the next 5-year plan, if the current prices are retained, computations indicate that in addition to coal, petroleum extraction will become a losing industry, and the production of natural gas will become underprofitable. This must not be allowed to happen. At the same time, fuel prices must also take into consideration global price levels. This will enable us accurately to substantiate and control the organization of direct foreign economic relations.

An essentially new approach will be adopted in setting petroleum prices. The new system calls for setting such prices as an independent basis for prices of raw material for the chemical industry and motor fuels, based on the extraction conditions which will prevail during the 13th 5-Year Plan. We can no longer classify petroleum as fuel and correlate its price with coal calorificity. Price levels and correlations among different types of motor fuel and lubricants will change substantially.

In machine building the price system will be restructured in close connection with the technical standards and quality of output. Conditions will be created for designing and installing new equipment in production and increasing the interest in consumers in accelerating the technical retooling of their production potential. To this effect the current profitability and overall relative level of prices of machine building output in the national

economy will be reduced considerably, above all by lowering the cost of electronic equipment, instruments, computers and numerical program systems, and making machines and equipment lighter.

In revising the prices of machine building output, we intend to ensure the economic interest of machine building enterprises and associations in upgrading the comprehensiveness and level of plant readiness and reliability of machines and equipment and lowering their material- and energy-intensiveness. We shall encourage the renovation of variety and the creation and mastery of equipment in essentially new areas and of mechanical systems and machines on the level of the best global models. This particularly applies to automated and rotary lines, robot systems and complex power-generating equipment. To this effect we must set economically substantiated price ratios for similar and functionally identical commodities.

Production of the latest equipment will be stimulated by adding to the prices profits which are the result of its increased efficiency and, at the same time, by lowering the profitability of first-category goods. It is important to prevent unjustified price increases without substantial improvements in technical and economic parameters and efficiency of new goods.

In order to eliminate the outlay methods in price setting, in drawing up the price lists for machine building output we shall make extensive use of standard-parameter price setting methods, according to which in setting prices for interchangeable and identical types of machinery and equipment the main criteria will be not the actual production outlays of enterprises but a uniform value assessment of the basic consumer quality as described in technical specifications charts: productivity, capacity, operational efficiency, and so on, taking the other quality indicators into consideration. Priority in economic incentive will be given to machines and equipment which play a decisive role in the technical retooling of the national economy and to equipment which replaces items imported from the capitalist countries.

In revising wholesale prices of light and food industry goods, outlays related to the production of consumer goods of different quality, particularly those enjoying increased population demand, must be reflected more fully. Therefore, in addition to solving the general problems, we must determine the true level of economically substantiated outlays of agricultural raw materials in these sectors, proceeding from purchase prices and the elimination of subsidies which compensate for disparities in procurement prices.

The new price lists should be such as to offer greater opportunities for enterprises to produce a variety of both inexpensive and expensive goods and restructure their output in accordance with market conditions and ensure the rational and efficient use of raw and other materials. This applies to perfecting the practice of setting prices

for consumer goods. At the present time, in addition to retail prices for a large number of commodities, there is a parallel system of wholesale prices. This separates the results of cost accounting activities of enterprises from the final marketing of goods at retail prices. Under these conditions demand exerts an insignificant influence.

We must expand the practice of setting consumer good prices on the basis of retail prices and rates of turnover tax or budget markups, according to which wholesale prices are higher than retail prices for some types of commodities. A similar procedure must be applied in setting wholesale prices of cultural-consumer and household goods. Broader use must be made of contractual prices for new items in demand by the population and of discounting the prices of goods not in demand by customers, at the expense of the enterprises. In the final account, this would increase the influence of population demand on the production of consumer goods and will take demand into consideration in setting wholesale and retail prices of such commodities.

Improvements in fuel prices will enable us to set uniform rates for electric power based on the individual power systems, related within a single system. This will ensure equal conditions for setting the prices of goods produced by consuming enterprises. In the course of the revision unjustified disparities in the rates paid by individual consumers will be eliminated; disparities in the rates paid by energy-intensive production facilities and other consumer groups will be reduced and night-time rates will be lowered.

At the same time, the rates of fuel-generated energy will be streamlined. Reduced rates for housing organizations, communal projects and greenhouses, the level of which is significantly below the cost of producing and transporting heat energy will be abolished. The elimination of reduced rates, although it may increase direct budget subsidies to such organizations, would also motivate them to use thermal energy economically and generate interest in installing meters and control instruments, provide conditions for the application of cost accounting in heat-producing enterprises and ensure the further development of centralized heat supplies.

The prices of commodities produced by ferrous metallurgy should be such as to increase the interest of enterprises in producing the most economical types of metal goods, including cold-rolled sheets, corrugated, shaped and precision-made items, and others. At the same time, the price lists will be simplified; the markup and discount systems will be consolidated and standardized in accordance with the quality of the metal.

In revising the prices of chemical industry goods, the intention is to upgrade the economic interest of enterprises in increasing the production of highly efficient construction materials, low-tonnage chemicals and high-grade plant protection chemicals (which will reduce imports) and replace foodstuffs used for industrial use

with chemicals, increase the production of highly concentrated and granulated fertilizers, particularly phosphorus and potassium, which are in short supply.

Prices will be used to encourage the comprehensive utilization of minerals in the ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and in ore chemistry by relating more strongly the prices of such items to the content of basic components and by encouraging efficient substitutions in the consumption of ferrous and nonferrous metals and plastics, ensuring the fullest possible utilization of recycled resources.

It is intended that the new prices will help to stimulate the production of new high-grade construction materials, lighter-weight efficient prefabricated structures, structures which leave plants in a high state of readiness, use of coniferous timber and the comprehensive and extensive processing of timber raw materials.

The price levels of industrial commodities and rates for freight haulage will be based on the conversion to the enterprises to economic management methods and the use of full cost accounting, self-financing and self-support. The substantiation of sectorial price levels must be based on standard production costs in the 13th 5-year period. Production costs of poorly operating enterprises and losses caused by the negligent and inefficient use of resources will not be taken into consideration.

The equal requirements of all sectors concerning the utilization of resources will be taken into consideration in the formulation of the new price system on the basis of payments for production assets and labor and natural resources. Thus, the standard production costs will take fully into consideration outlays for social insurance and the planned increase of payment rates for such purposes. They will fully reflect the cost of geological surveys, reforestation and recultivation of land and payments for water use. They will also take into consideration the use of fresh water from all types of reservoir or ground sources, regardless of whether or not they are part of the water-resource system. Rental payments will be applied more extensively. They will be included in the prices of petroleum, natural gas, hydroelectric power and other types of raw materials resources extracted (produced) under favorable natural conditions. The profits will also take into consideration the newly introduced payments for labor resources. All of this will enable us to bring the structure and price ratios by groups and types of commodities closer to global prices, in accordance with their technical and economic parameters and quality.

The consideration of consumer qualities, efficiency and quality will be given priority in justifying prices of individual commodities. The determination of levels of profitability, which will be included in the prices of all economic sectors, must be ensured on the basis of uniform methodological principles. It would be expedient to proceed from standard rates and requirements when including in the prices conditions for setting up

economic incentive funds, use of production assets and resources, relations with the state, etc. This will put on an equal footing all sectors and enterprises in the implementation of their cost accounting activities and the extensive use of rates governing the distribution of profits between enterprises and the state budget, depending on the actual results of their economic activities. Furthermore, the planned profitability level will provide to the overwhelming number of normally operating enterprises the required conditions for self-financing.

Major problems must be solved in the area of perfecting price setting for goods produced within the agroindustrial complex. A number of artificial encrustations have piled up in the present relations between agriculture and industry, which hinder the organization of ties between these sectors on a healthy economic basis.

Since industrial commodities supplied to kolkhozes and sovkhozes and procurements of agricultural raw material are paid for by consumers at prices significantly below wholesale prices in industry and purchase prices, great disparities develop in the prices of industrial commodities supplied to the countryside, and substantial subsidies are required for the procurement and marketing of meat and dairy products, potatoes, vegetables and basic types of grain products. Today price subsidies and supplements accounts for 20 percent of state budget outlays. This adversely affects the resources of the state and the possibility of implementing social programs and stimulating high end results. It distorts the real value of labor and materials and does not create conditions for economical production and consumption.

Equipment and chemical fertilizers are sold to agriculture on easy terms and reduced prices. Subsidies exceed 5 billion rubles. Reduced prices are charged for electric power, natural gas and mixed feeds, and water is provided free of charge. The sum of direct and indirect subsidies will reach 18.5 billion rubles by 1990. Naturally, in this case a reliable economic guideline for the efficient utilization of material and technical resources in agriculture is lost; demand for industrial output, which is used wastefully, is groundlessly increased.

The time has come radically to change the equalizing-outlay method in setting purchase prices which essentially follow the growth of outlays in agriculture. With markups to purchase prices for underprofitable or losing farms, most of them virtually sell their produce at customized prices. Furthermore, purchase prices of agricultural commodities are excessively differentiated by areas, going as far down as individual oblasts, rayons and farms. This weakens their influence on concentrating output in the most favorable areas and centralizing agricultural production. As a result, no economic pressure is applied on the farm to increase its efficiency on the basis of progressive technology and production organization. Combined with the financial-credit instruments, the price-setting mechanism enables the farms, while remaining losing and underprofitable, to recover unjustified outlays with the help of high markups.

Purchase prices of agricultural commodities will be revised on the basis of the following principles:

Purchase prices levels will be based on labor and material production costs prevailing in the specialized zones, with a view to lowering costs in the future by applying intensive technology and a progressive organization of labor;

Improvements will be made in the zonal differentiation among purchase prices by consolidating the zones on the basis of scientific systems for the most efficient location of agricultural production facilities;

Rental payments by kolkhozes and sovkhozes operating under relatively more favorable conditions will be introduced, by creating with such payments a special fund by the USSR Gosagroprom and using its assets for strengthening the material and technical facilities of farms working under worse circumstances;

There will be a greater differentiation among purchase prices based on quality and incentive payments for storing produce directly at kolkhozes and sovkhozes;

The flexibility of purchase prices of fruits, vegetables and other crops will be increased, and their seasonal differentiation will be intensified in accordance with differences in outlays and possibilities of meeting the need for such commodities throughout the year;

Payments for water will be introduced, taking such payments into consideration in purchase prices, in order to stimulate the more economical and efficient use of reclamation facilities by kolkhozes and sovkhozes;

Facilities for the sale of equipment, chemical fertilizers and other industrial commodities to agriculture will be eliminated, and prerequisites for improving their utilization by kolkhozes and sovkhozes will be created.

In the future the system for setting purchase prices in agriculture should be aimed at converting relations among enterprises and organizations within the Gosagroprom to contractual and clearing prices of agricultural commodities based on current wholesale and retail prices of the finished goods produced by the agroindustrial complex.

The most urgent problems in price setting are those within the retail price system. This is understandable, for it is precisely within such prices, which are the tip of the pyramid of the entire system, that all contradictions, wherever they may arise, appear in one aspect or another. The gravest and most difficult problem is that of disparity between retail prices of foodstuffs, their purchase prices and the socially necessary outlays for the production and procurement of agricultural commodities. Retail prices of foodstuffs are on an average half those of production costs. Costs to the state exceed retail

prices by a factor of 1.2 for rye bread, 1.8 for milk, 1.9 for potatoes and pork, 2.4 for delicatessen, 2.5 for butter, 3.1 for beef, 3.4 for mutton, etc.

Naturally, the balancing of reduced retail prices of food products with socially necessary outlays leads to a lowering of wages, pensions, scholarships and other population revenue and to unjustified and significantly increased retail prices of many durable consumer goods. The correlation among wholesale, procurement and retail prices provides a distorted image of the actual production ratios which seem to be reflected as in a trick mirror. The illusion of inexpensive food and labor is created, which makes it more advantageous to enterprises to keep surplus personnel on their payroll rather than install new equipment.

All of this leads to unjustified shortages and overloads. Population demand becomes inconsistent with production outlays. Even a direct comparison between retail prices of some comestible products and prices of some industrial commodities would indicate significant shortcuts which become even worse if we base comparisons among such commodities on outlays. Shortcuts in retail prices have developed also among individual types and groups of comestible and durable goods. They are particularly tangible in price correlations between beef and poultry meat, whole milk, cheese and sour milk products, rice and other groats, domestic and imported clothing and shoes, and interchangeable garments and knitted goods made of synthetic fabrics, as compared with natural fibers.

The current retail price system promotes contradictions in private and public interests. A direct connection exists between the fact that for each kilogram of meat sold to the state at purchase prices one could purchase 2.5 kg of meat at state retail prices, and the fact that this reduces the supply of livestock products from private auxiliary farms.

The current retail price system has no future. Between 1970 and 1982 the steadily increasing amount of retail price subsidies was compensated with increased budget revenue from the turnover tax levied on alcoholic beverages and so-called prestige goods, and on exports of raw materials and imports of finished goods and foodstuffs. As a result the correlation between the sum of such subsidies and the amount of the turnover tax realized through retail prices was stable, remaining at approximately the 30 percent level.

Today the situation has changed qualitatively. The substantial increase of subsidies in retail prices led to the fact that the correlation between the sum total of subsidies and the value of the turnover tax included in the prices has reached 50 percent. Furthermore, today we can no longer look at the former sources of budget revenue—alcoholic beverages and imported durable

goods. On today's level the income of the bulk of the population has exhausted the possibility of increasing the share of the turnover tax in retail prices of most durable goods.

The current price system distorts the proportion between the measure of labor and the measure of consumption and the implementation of the fundamental principle of distribution of goods in accordance with the measure of labor; it leads to violations of the principle of social justice and does not provide suitable guidelines for achieving high labor productivity, streamlining the wage system and establishing a direct correlation between it and end results. It does not allow us to eliminate equalization in wages and the "derivative principle" in shaping the wage funds of enterprise and organization personnel.

The retail price system plays a passive role in the implementation of the party's social policy, which is aimed at upgrading the people's well-being. It does not contribute to the enhancement of the human factor. The social criteria of the price policy have been lost. The ratios between paid and free services have been disturbed and major difficulties have appeared in the procurement of resources needed for the implementation of most important social programs. Distortions in the distribution area have taken place. Occasionally prices reduce to naught the steps taken by the state to increase the nominal wages of individual categories of working people, pensions and social assistance.

The solution of the problems which have accumulated within the retail price and rate systems affects the material interest of the entire population, for which reason it is the gravest sociopolitical problem of the reform in price setting. However, the solution of this problem can no longer be postponed. Retaining the current situation would mean increasing and aggravating negative trends and phenomena. Considering the scale of the problem, solving it exclusively by developing and upgrading production efficiency would require several 5-year periods.

The USSR State Committee for Prices is currently drafting alternate solutions to the problem of perfecting retail prices and rates. It must be clear as of now, however, that their radical reform should in no way be a means of strengthening the finances of the state at the expense of the working people. Therefore, the variety of compensation measures in the areas of wages, pensions, aids and other population income should be drafted and extensively discussed along with steps taken in the area of prices. It is important to create through such measures economic conditions leading to increased output, above all of food, upgrading the quality and expanding the variety of commodities and services for the population, increasing labor productivity and lowering costs. The main prerequisite which must be observed in the implementation of economic tasks in building the new system

of retail prices and rates is to preserve the living standard of the working people, to prevent its worsening and, in some categories, even to upgrade it and to achieve a greater social justice.

Our country must enter the 13th 5-year period with a new system of prices and rates in all sectors and areas of the national economy. In this connection, wholesale prices in industry and the rates of transportation and communications will be reviewed so that the new ones may be applied as of 1 January 1990. The new purchase prices and rates in construction will be applied as of 1 January 1991. Within that time—until the start of the next 5-year period—a reform in retail prices, related to improving the population's income, will be carried out.

It is obvious that considering the complexity of the reform in price setting preparations for it must be done most responsibly. It should be considered one of the main trends in the practical implementation of the stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress and the resolutions of the January and June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenums.

Editorial note:

Unquestionably, this article will trigger numerous responses on the part of our readers. This is understandable, for the question of prices, retail prices above all, affects the most vital interest of the people. The disparity which is developing between outlays and the prices of many types of commodities is obviously abnormal. Today, as the article shows, work is under way to prepare a review of wholesale and retail prices and of the entire price-setting system.

We are proud of the high level of social protection of the individual in our country, as was emphasized at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. That is why under the conditions of glasnost the Soviet people should know that no major decisions will be made without consulting with them.

We shall try to publish some of the responses, sum up others and submit them for the information of the competent authorities in charge of perfecting our price-setting system.

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Difficult Crossing: Notes From the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenum

18020001c Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 27-37

[Article by Sergey Vladimirovich Kolesnikov and Nikolay Grigoryevich Tyurin, KOMMUNIST staff members]

[Text] The decisions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the practical work of the party organizations and their level of readiness to apply in full the forthcoming economic management reform and to convert the

ideas and concepts formulated by the Central Committee into specific actions are today the most important and responsible topics. As elsewhere in the country, the party members in Moscow are analyzing the course of restructuring and intensely seeking the shortest and most efficient ways to making quality changes in the huge and complex economic system of the capital. In the recent past Moscow's economic and social sphere and organizational and ideological activities did not escape stagnation phenomena and negative processes. However, these facts were not publicized. Some officials developed some sort of "model" complex. For extended periods of time the corps of economic managers, many party committees and soviet agencies remained outside the reach of criticism. This could not fail to affect the combativeness, principle-mindedness and self-criticism of party organizations and the quality standards of cadres. In the post-April period a great deal has been done in the capital to improve the moral and political situation, to eliminate the lag in the development of the urban economy and to solve social and ideological problems. The 8 August Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum focused its undivided attention on the new forthcoming practical steps, timely restructuring problems and specific means of eliminating the existing "obstruction mechanism," the effect of which is felt in many areas of Moscow life.

The proceedings of the plenum were unusual: the idea was to ensure the greatest possible collective work of all of its participants and to make its resolutions maximally constructive and purposeful. Following the first part of the report submitted by B.N. Yeltsin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, a sharp businesslike discussion developed at the plenum. A task force was set up to sum up the many suggestions and remarks contained in the speeches or written statements submitted by the participants. During the intermission the Moscow City Party Committee Buro and the task force considered in detail the submitted suggestions. The concluding part of the report summed up the preliminary results of the discussion, which made a more accurate and profound formulation of the priority tasks of the city party organization in implementing the decisions of the June Plenum possible. The draft resolution was expanded and refined on the basis of the suggestions (more than 200 of which were received). Furthermore, the plenum instructed the task force and the Moscow City Party Committee Buro to draft a thorough report on the nature and follow-up of each practical suggestion.

The desire of the participants in the plenum to avoid stereotypes (although they were not always successful) also predetermined the nature of our description of this important event in the life of the Moscow party organization: it included meetings and talks with those whose speeches at the plenum raised questions specific to the city party organization, and suggested specific solutions. Many of the problems were clarified in the practical atmosphere which prevailed. Furthermore, people who

had not attended the plenum but whose thoughts and concerns were consistent with its atmosphere and objectives joined in the discussion in an active and interested manner.

Toward Full Cost Accounting

In her address at the plenum, L.N. Shepilova, party committee secretary at the Parizhskaya Kommuna Factory, described the following situation: During the first half of the year the collective earned 2 million rubles in above-plan profits, which it is unable to use. Why? At a worker meeting the shoemakers decided to use the funds for the construction of housing, the shortage of which is acutely felt at the factory. But how to implement this plan? In Moscow only small projects can be built by an enterprise; the Moscow City Executive Committee, however, denied the request of the factory collective and refused its money. It is true that the city is short of construction capacities. However, what are the people to think, after their efforts had yielded substantial cost accounting results. Would they believe that this occurrence was "atypical?" This enterprise, furthermore, has worked under self-financing conditions only since last January and it was extremely important not to undermine the trust of the people in the principles of cost accounting.

"It looks as though the problem will be solved," said Lyubov Nikolayevna Shepilova, who could not conceal her happiness, thus making even more obvious the concern felt by the party members at the factory for the outcome of cost accounting, which was still weak and is taking its initial steps. "The party gorkom rang us up and promised to persuade the Moscow City Executive Committee to accept our 2 million rubles. Believe me, I felt greatly relieved!"

This conversation was taking place in Shepilova's practically furnished but comfortable office, while the even din of the shops, the smell of leather and dyes, and the rumble of a launch sailing on the river near by reminded us that regardless of our topic of discussion everything was invisibly interwoven with the history and traditions of proletarian Moscow. Worker dynasties work at the Parizhskaya Kommuna Factory and here the link between generations is something live and natural. There are all indications that the collective has now reached a point at which it must harness its entire potential not only in order to prove its reputation but also to raise the prestige of the factory, which is the head enterprise in the noted Zarya Association, to a new level. What is the focal point of today's concern of the shoe manufacturers? Naturally, it is cost accounting. "We are learning to compute everything," the party committee secretary said.

In shop No 16, headed by L.Ya. Borisova, we are impressed not only by cleanliness and order but also by the fact that there are just a few people in this shift, whose precise and graceful motions are an accurate indication of high skill.

"Yes, we are short of manpower," Lyudmila Yakovlevna told us. "All in all, there are 500 job vacancies at the factory. However, this estimate is based on yesterday's standards which do not take cost accounting incentives into consideration. Practical experience has led to major changes today in all our concepts concerning the production process. There have been many calls to upgrade quality and all sorts of competition stipulations! Now, when as much as 40 percent of earnings depend on quality, there is no need for propaganda. All that we need is to meet fair requirements. We are greatly helped by the principle of collective material responsibility for discipline and production qualities. For example, recently on the initiative of the workers we returned to the procurement shop 100 pairs of faulty shoes. I could probably say that if it weren't for the new economic management conditions, such faulty shoes would have found their way to store shelves...."

Thus, it is a question of quality, and once again quality. The reason is understandable. Starting with April of last year, in experimenting with the "shop-store shelf" system, the factory has been working without quality control by trade organizations; that which yesterday was described as "unloading rejects" must disappear from the vocabulary of shoemakers and sales clerks. Consumer demand is becoming now the most important criterion for the economic prosperity of the enterprise. The experiment is widening, systematically developing into a standard of economic life of this industrial-trade shoe-manufacturing association, which is Zarya's present name. Nonetheless, most of the work lies ahead. There still are justifiable claims filed by customers and not every single pair of shoes produced at Parizhskaya Kommuna can withstand a comparison with foreign similar products or with shoes made at by Factory No 6 of the association, which was provided with equipment from the Italian firm Concerie Cogolo. Therefore, the factory must install more regularly new equipment and apply new technology, strengthen its ties with science and learn the elements of cost accounting. In the future as well, therefore, the shop party organizations in the factory will not exercise their right of holding meetings once every 2 months. The need for regular collective advice has increased among the party members. "The times now are such," we were told V.T. Belikova, party buro secretary at shop No 2, "we do not even have an agenda, which is dictated by the situation whenever we meet."

The report submitted at the CPSU Moscow City Party Committee Plenum noted that, obviously, today there is no need to report about achievements, the more so since its end results that matter. This also applies to relatively successful enterprises, such as Parizhskaya Kommuna, and to enterprises which are still within a kind of "stagnation zone" and remain unaffected by restructuring. Here are a few facts cited in the report: The city has 160 industrial enterprises and organizations working under the new economic management conditions. However, one out of seven among them is not fulfilling its

plans for production marketing according to contracts, and 10 percent of them are not fulfilling their plan for the growth of labor productivity; 20 percent of these enterprises are not meeting their profit assignments. The dynamics of production and financial-economic indicators of some of the plants which have converted to self-financing are lower than those which follow the old system and are worse compared to last year. Twenty-four of the 59 enterprises where state inspection has been organized had cost overruns totaling 16 million rubles for the first half of the year compared with planned production costs. These enterprises account for half of the cost overruns in the city. Other such examples could be cited. However, it is not a matter of enumerating similar statistical data but of finding the reasons for negative trends in the urban economy.

Why is economic restructuring still spinning its wheels? At what point do the threads become entangled and what is hindering the implementation of decisions? Answering these questions is no simple matter. Above all, let us note the self-critical nature of the assessment of the existing situation, heard at the plenum: it would have been much easier to ascribe all shortcomings to the "opponents of restructuring." It is much more difficult but more useful to admit that all people directly involved in it—the party aktiv, the soviet and economic cadres, specialists and rank-and-file workers are guilty of excessive slowness of renovation, taking half-way measures and showing no tangible results. As in the past, many people are short of persistence and purposefulness or, in some cases, skill or courage. Unquestionably, the working class in the capital supports the changes and is actively participating in them. However, a substantial percentage of such workers are still not prepared to assume their share of responsibility for the course of restructuring. Each party organization must draw proper conclusions from this, for the activeness of the masses is the decisive force of restructuring.

Such are the coils of the "obstruction mechanism" rooted in the mentality, in the life stance of many people. However, "external" factors exist as well, consisting mainly of specific manifestations of obsolete approaches to economic management and sluggish and command-bureaucratic methods used by many ministries and departments and economic managers. The report and the statements of the participants in the plenum provided convincing proof that senior personnel in sectorial headquarters continue to think in terms of yesterday's categories. As was reported to the plenum by Ye.A. Brokov, general director of the ZIL Production Association, in the past 10 months alone the automobile manufacturers received from their ministry 15 major production assignments without....any funds for installing proper capacities. And this is taking place at a time when the ZIL is successfully applying cost accounting principles and when production brigades are working on the basis of thoroughly substantiated annual and 5-year plans. Understandably, such "arbitrary" ministerial orders hinder the steady work of the labor collective.

Similar examples were cited by I.M. Golovkov, first secretary of the Kirovskiy CPSU Raykom, A.I. Zolotarav, locomotive engineer at the Locomotive Depot imeni Ilich, V.I. Resin, chief of Glavmospromstroy, L.P. Baranov, city prosecutor, Yu.P. Segenyuk, Minstankoprom party committee secretary, and other participants in the plenum, proving most clearly that restructuring in industry will be the faster and the more successful the more energetically ministries and central economic departments change their work style along the lines earmarked at the June Plenum.

The transitional period and the parallel existence of the old and the the developing new economic mechanisms demand of every party member political maturity and firmness, based on a sober analysis of all factors which relate to a given situation. It is particularly dangerous to be seduced by the fact that the decisions which are made will be implemented automatically and that a turn from administrative to economic management methods will be easy and painless, the speakers at the plenum said. Reverses are possible as well. One must counter such phenomena and their specific carriers with double the required energy.

Here, for example, is the way so-called departmental, but essentially egotistical interests look, as analyzed in a statistical report, which illustrates their incredible durability. For the past 20 years a significant share of scientific research institutes and design bureaus have been steadily reducing the number of new developments and only 9 percent of them have surpassed the standards of similar studies conducted abroad. Until recently there were 1,041 institutes and design bureaus operating in Moscow. It took a tremendous effort to close down seven of them because of the total sterility of the "work" of their collectives. A current estimate, however, has shown that the number of scientific and design organizations has already reached 1,087! Many of them, as in the past, continue to idle, which becomes particularly noticeable against the background of the greatest achievements of frontranking scientific collectives.

What is contributing to such "durability?" At the plenum this question was answered by N.P. Lyakishev, director of the Central Scientific Research Institute of Ferrous Metallurgy imeni I.P. Bardin. In his view, the increased number of institutes is a paradox which exposes the helplessness of those whose job it is to prevent the appearance of exaggerated trends in science but who make irresponsible decisions by organizing subunits which are not needed by the state. We believe that in such cases the position of the party gorkom should be truly irreconcilable. It is time to study sectorial science thoroughly, to define its role and place in production intensification and reliably to block the channels along which, circumventing cost accounting, self-financing and, in some cases, even elementary expediency, departmental ambitions circulate.

Legitimate concern for the state of affairs of the urban economy was felt during the entire plenum. What are the primary tasks here? The plenum formulated the following action tactics: above all, it is necessary immediately to set up councils of labor collectives and to promote their active work. This is one of the most important parts in the implementation of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association). The purpose, with the help of the trade unions, is to elect to the councils active representatives of the collectives, who are competent to solve all production and social problems and to eliminate all formalism. The first task of the councils is to analyze the financial and economic condition of the enterprise. It must study standards, determine the most vulnerable areas and prepare for a conversion to self-financing. At the initial stage the councils of labor collectives will undertake the specific formulation of plans "from below," so that already next year they could include in them the new anti-outlay mechanism. The following suggestion was also made: to set up under the raykoms and the Moscow City Party Committee economic councils for the interpretation and summation of experience in restructuring acquired by enterprises in the course of the conversion to new economic management methods. The participants in this transition are clearly short of economic knowledge. By the end of the year more than 1 million working people in the capital will attend universal training in economics. Everyone must become familiar specifically with what to do and how to do it under the conditions of the economic restructuring and be able to deal with the categories "prices," "profits," and "cost accounting," and understand the way they are refracted in the activities of individual work places. Such economic knowledge must be based on firm theoretical foundations.

The plenum earmarked a number of urgent steps aimed at making a sharp turn for the better in the brain trust of industry—scientific research institutes and design bureaus. In the next 2 months each scientific collective must formulate efficient steps and set specific deadlines for converting to cost accounting. In the example of the Ukraine and Leningrad, the decision was made to set up in Moscow before the end of the year a minimum of 10 engineering and application centers functioning on a cost accounting basis. Together with the ministries and the USSR Academy of Sciences, the gorkom secretaries were instructed to study the work of intersectorial scientific and technical complexes (MNTK) and to submit to the Moscow City Party Committee Buro suggestions on optimizing their activities. The idea formulated at the plenum to the effect that Moscow's national economic complex could become the testing ground for the possibility of extensively developing wholesale trade in means of production and direct links among enterprises is unquestionably useful and promising. In this important area the guideline is next year to raise to 20-30 percent the volume of wholesale trade. Decisive constructive steps were earmarked also in the area of restructuring the

financial-crediting mechanism, in the struggle for upgrading the quality of goods made in Moscow and applying cost accounting principles on the territorial management level.

What is noteworthy is that all steps without exception taken in the economic area must be of a strictly practical nature and have specific and very short deadlines. The plenum instructed the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee, bearing in mind already available materials, to submit to the government by 1 January 1988 suggestions on the new structure of national economic management for Moscow, which would make it possible better to ensure the connection between sectorial and territorial interests and drastically to reduce the number of administrative units and the personnel by almost one-half. As we reread the materials of the plenum and assess the actual scale of the forthcoming tasks, the inspiring nature of one of the major thoughts expressed in the report becomes clearer: "The main work lies ahead. Restructuring economic management is a most serious test for all of us of our ability not only to issue appeal but also to organize the work." Yes, the time has come to show practical returns from restructuring.

The Main Concern

It is hardly necessary to prove that the main link in restructuring in a city with a multimillion population and the very foundation which helps to solve economic problems is the development of the social area. However, it is precisely here that the pace of renovation is the least tangible. Let us even say that the numerous questions which arise in this area not only pile up on top of each other but, as they become concentrated, appear to gain a kind of new quality. Problems of transportation or public catering in the complex social organism of a "megapolis" must be dealt with differently than, for example, in a city whose population does not exceed a million. The capital enlarges and greatly increases any existing deficiency and aggravates any discoordination in the organization of urban daily life. This affects problems of housing, schools, trade (the situation in this area is what annoys the people the most), consumer services and health care.

The new gorkom began with a sharp formulation of such problems more than 18 months ago. The accurate political line which was charted for a faster development for the social base and the elimination of the "residual" approach to its development took the power of a resolution, of a plan. The Moscow City Party Committee Buro approved long-term programs dealing with housing, labor resources, health, consumer services and public catering, and a program for improving fruit and vegetable supplies to Muscovites. Priority steps were formulated to handle the "Young Family" problem. However, drafting a good document is one thing and, as is frequently the case, organizing the work and achieving specific results, is something entirely different. The gorkom plenum gave a strict assessment of these results:

that which could have been accomplished most rapidly was not done. For example, the development of individual labor activity and cooperatives, something which the city needs so greatly, was mired in bureaucracy. Today there are 97 cooperatives in Moscow, while 451 requests for cooperatives are blocked in rayon executive committees. Formalism and the excessively complicated procedure for issuing permits are obstructing the project.

Here is what V.A. Korobchenko, Baumanskiy Rayon Soviet Ispolkom chairman thinks: "Every day Muscovites are exposed to the low standards of services. This affects the mood of millions of people. The problem of organizing the trade system has become political. I believe that everyone should concentrate on this problem: the executive committees, the raykoms, the main administrations and the party gorkom trade and consumer services department. The people must see that real changes are taking place in this area."

In order to solve the trade problem at least two things must be accomplished. Above all, there must be something to trade, a sufficiency of goods. This closely involves production and procurements and a great deal depends on the general economic climate. However, something else is equally important: How is the trade system organized and can a person buy something easily or without waiting in line and calmly purchase items which, in official terminology, as described as "adequate variety of goods?" Both components of normal urban activities should be the subject of party attention. What is the situation?

Let us consider an urgent problem, such as supplying the urban population with potatoes or other varieties of fruits and vegetables. It is difficult even to imagine the huge flow of 2.7 million tons of fruits and vegetables annually which literally flood the urban vegetable bases and take away from their jobs machine-tool workers, scientific associates, students and engineers. The quality of such goods varies greatly. One out of six of the 138,000 tons which arrived in Moscow last July was defective and had to be shipped back, although the city has no right to do so. The main reasons for the difficulties, however, as was openly and self-critically stated by Yu.M. Luzhkov, first deputy chairman of the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom, should be sought not in these difficulties but in the fact that for the time being the city lacks the main prerequisites for adequate work—cadres and developed material facilities. Nor is there a proper mechanism to stimulate improvements in supplying the population with vegetables.

Let us begin with cadres. Today a materially liable worker at a base earns between 110 and 140 rubles monthly and is not interested in ensuring the preservation of the produce. Generally speaking, nor is he interested in working at full capacity, for according to a system which was introduced a long time ago, the party raykoms assign people from enterprises and organizations to help him. However, all it took this year was an

experiment conducted at the Baumanskiy base: a brigade operating on the basis of a contracting order was set up at one of the warehouses and the results exceeded all expectations. Losses amounted to no more than 3 percent and during the year no single outside worker was recruited! Output quintupled and wages increased. Therefore, the problem of cadres is most closely interwoven with the development of the economic form of influencing trade processes. However, this does not stop here. Is it not the direct duty of the party committees to be concerned with the proper selection and training of management cadres in trade on both the rayon and city levels? The sad memory of past practices, when those who headed trade in Moscow and managed the largest stores included thieves, bribe-takers and real criminals, indicates that it is precisely in this area that greater party attention and increased public control are necessary. To this day one meets "unsinkable" (although, compared with the past, much more modest) "bigwigs" managing fruit and vegetable or delicatessen stores who, honestly speaking, should not be allowed even near one. That is why the so-called "extraeconomic" methods needed in bringing order should not be scorned.

The most important prerequisite for normalizing the work of the fruit and vegetable system is preparing and developing material facilities, mechanization above all. The special program, which was adopted recently, is being sluggishly implemented and many already installed mechanized lines are primitive. They do not reduce labor outlays. Those which were purchased with foreign currency are being poorly used. The situation which is developing with storing and processing fruits and vegetables demands an urgent search for new solutions. It must be substantially changed in the next 18 to 24 months.

This applies to trade as a whole. The emphasis is on supporting labor collectives which will truly help the store in making repairs, providing technical equipment and mechanizing manual operations on the basis of direct contracts. Equally realistic is the task of having enterprises and organizations build over the next 2 years within each rayon no less than two lightweight stores and three different types of "instant" coffee shops. This will provide the city additionally with a minimum of 180 trade and public catering enterprises. The number of food stores, departments or delicatessen stores set up directly at enterprises will be increased, which will be the equivalent of opening an additional 20 large department stores. Small trading centers and coffee shops will be opened on the first floors of presently vacated offices (this year the number of such vacated premises was no more than 70). This will make available yet another 200 premises over the next 18 months. It is particularly important to make proper use of the scarce available areas in the center of the city.

The extent of which all such problems are urgent in Moscow is confirmed by facts. For example, the availability in, let us say, Sovetskiy Rayon, with its nearly

half-a-million population, with trade, public catering and communal service enterprises is below urban construction standards by a factor of 1.5-2, which is worse compared to many other parts of the country.

We are discussing problems of trade in the capital in such detail not only because this affects the interest of almost 9 million Muscovites but also more than 2 million visitors to the capital, who crowd every day the streets of Moscow, its stores and catering institutions. Good or bad, this is a fact: a significant share of commodities reaching the city stores "leaves" the capital in the bags and suitcases of its guests. Naturally, this does not simplify the situation in the least. This problem will not be solved through the efforts of the urban authorities alone. Consequently, Moscow must change assessments both in terms of supplies with goods as well as in services and urban transport.

However, a strictly "internal" Moscow problem is that of housing. The first thing noticed by anyone who crosses the circumferential highway is the innumerable number of new construction projects blocking the horizon. Nonetheless, housing is in short supply. Today in frequent cases people who have waited 10 to 15 years are only now being assigned apartments and many "communal" residences are still being used. It is not simply a matter of the notorious "ceiling," with the help of which the previous city management tried to solve the capital's problems by recruiting manpower by the thousands from all over the country. Today although there is virtually no "ceiling" the city continues to expand irrepressibly.

The housing problem was raised in most speeches and numerous notes received by the plenum. Specific suggestions were made, essentially insisting that the plan for the completion of 200,000 square meters of housing be overfulfilled this and next year. The same amount of housing should be built with the facilities of the ministries and departments themselves. By 1995 the problem of "communal living" should be essentially solved. Young families become targets of prime attention. During this 5-year period 50 youth residential complexes must be completed in the city.

Another aspect of the housing problem is fairness in the allocation of apartments, strict public control over this matter and the formulation of an efficient system for keeping track of housing on the rayon and overall urban levels. For example, unused residential areas are a major reserve. The following figures were quoted at the plenum: currently there are 3,721 apartments and 6,024 rooms vacant in the city despite huge waiting lines! The solution of the housing problem must be undertaken not in 10 or 20 years but now, in the foreseeable future. That is the way the city party organization looks at the problem.

Ministries, enterprises and organizations within city limits must participate more actively in the solution of social problems on the basis of contracts with rayon

soviet executive committees. This is being practiced on a "parity" basis. The duties of the ispolkom in supplying the working people of enterprises with housing and the duties of the enterprises in developing the rayon's infrastructure have been stipulated. The role of the territorial administration, the Moscow City Soviet and the rayon soviets will inevitably increase, specifically with the help of production groups of deputies at enterprises and the permanent commissions. The range of problems to be solved on a centralized basis has been reduced. Naturally, the grave problems of the development of the urban economy cannot be solved within the hour, for they require substantial resources and the help of the central authorities. What matters most, however, is the active participation of all party members, regardless of departmental affiliation, in a most important project, that of improving the working and living conditions of the people and implementing the program for the development of the sociocultural area.

Practical Test

"The implementation of the economic reform and the new content of the economic mechanism demand as of now new approaches to political and ideological work.... Hence the conclusion that it is necessary to change the aspect of the party worker. We believe that the fashion of putting 'metal into one's voice' or the ability to 'shake up' others should yield to high-level intellect and civilized behavior and the ability to listen, persuade and profoundly understand people...."

This is a quote from the speech delivered at the plenum by V.V. Vinogradov, first secretary of the Sovetskiy CPSU Raykom, which touched upon urgent and relevant problems of reorganizing the activities of the city party organization. What are the typical features of the changes which are currently taking place on the most important level—the rayon—where general party stipulations turn into specific daily policy? Let us look at the southern suburb of the capital, where Sovetskiy Rayon spreads over an area of more than 6,000 hectares. Like most new Moscow construction projects, the rayon impresses us with its spaciousness and efficient layout. The bright-colored residential buildings look even smarter, surrounded as they are by groves and glades in the fields around Moscow. However, this is a facade. What is the true situation, looked at from the inside?

"Our main problem is the incomplete development of the social infrastructure and the great lag behind urban construction standards in the areas of health care, trade, public catering and other vitally important indicators," pointed out S.K. Yeropkin, second secretary of the Sovetskiy Party Raykom. "In addition to the specific features of the rayon which, strictly speaking, is virtually a microcosm of Moscow, matters are complicated by yet another circumstance typical of the outlying areas of the city. There are virtually no large industrial enterprises here but an abundance of small scientific research institutes and transport and construction organizations.

Together with the collectives which service the social area they form a quite variegated mosaic of small party organizations. Understandably, all of this does not make the life of the raykom any simpler or easier...."

Since last March, together with three other Moscow raykoms, Sovetskiy Raykom has been conducting an experiment the purpose of which is to solve the difficulty created by the sectorial style of thinking of party workers, lift departmental barriers among raykom departments and strengthen the party-oriented, the political approach to the study and solution of all problems. Unquestionably, it is still too early to sum up the results of the experiment. Furthermore, its stipulations and principles deserve a more detailed discussion. Nonetheless, what trends have been noted and what are the results of 6 months of new-style work?

"Above all, the division of obligations among six functional sectors and four groups of 'general' instructors allowed us to have an overview of the party primary organization as a whole, interrelated with economic, social and psychological problems," said I.V. Vinnikov, raykom party secretary, as he showed us the chart of the new structure of the apparatus. "To a certain extent we have been able to achieve a greatly needed interconnection among the organizational, ideological and economic aspects of party leadership. Most primary party organization secretaries can make a better assessment of the experiment, for instead of having a minimum of three inspectors, today a given party collective is under the custody of a single raykom worker. Interesting initiatives have been implemented, such as work groups consisting of rayon party committee members and candidate members, which are assigned to analyze and solve difficult problems; we also have our 'business meetings club,' in which the party and economic aktiv holds discussions and seeks practical approaches to topical problems. We give no thought to 'victory reports.' The experiment has highlighted a tremendous number of urgent problems."

For example, the idea of a "general" instructor, which was raised in Moscow as early as the 1950s, proved to be fully justified. Finding such a worker today, however, is rare. He must be found and trained and it immediately becomes clear that by no means is everyone capable organically to combine various "specialties" of party work. The more so since in the very near future the party worker on the rayon level will be asked to display less operational-executive functions and more analytical abilities and the qualities of a political worker. Where could such people be found? The raykom believes that it is necessary to review the foundations of selection and types of training of the personnel of the party apparatus and rely more daringly on party committee and party bureau secretaries. This, however, involves the need to solve problems of party education, which, for the time being, affect very little the primary party units. Obviously, it is time to improve the material incentive system for raykom instructors.

Or else, let us consider the following example. Under the conditions of the experiment, the rayon party committee structure has changed although remaining the same on the level of the gorkom and the primary party units. This contradiction is sharply felt above all by instructors and heads of groups who, by logic the of the experiment, should concentrate on long-term problems. However, they are kept exceptionally busy collecting information requested by sectorial departments and individual sectors of the Moscow City Party Committee.

We were shown in the raykom the results of the time budget for a work day of an instructor which, incidentally, was requested by the gorkom. The result is the following paradoxical situation: the more complex and difficult the problem being solved by the urban party organization is, the more primitive and essentially dispatcher assignments must be implemented by the raykom personnel. Let us not begin to cite figures and facts as proof, for they are numerous and very eloquent. In our view, it is significantly more important to support the view of the collective of the Sovetskiy CPSU Raykom: what will make the restructuring of party work the more efficiently will be the more systematic involvement in it of the initiator of the experiment—the Moscow Party Gorkom. This was mentioned at the plenum by A.V. Nikonov, first secretary of the Dzerzhinskiy Rayon CPSU Committee, and other comrades. Clearly, it is a matter not only of the structure of the apparatus alone. The impression develops sometimes that the gorkom is still trying to solve many unquestionably difficult problems of the capital by increasing organizational pressure, concentrating on the "apparatus" aspect of the work and the "acceleration" of cadre reassignment on the city and rayon levels. Naturally, we understand the aspiration to surmount political sluggishness and the old apathy as quickly as possible and to eliminate the customary sluggishness, ossification and inertia of many workers. However, it is precisely in this case that a thorough, thoughtful and practical work is particularly necessary within the party organizations and labor collectives.

Today the main criteria used in assessing a party worker are shaped not "from above" but "from below," from the masses. "Work in the collectives, particularly those which have accurately and promptly accepted restructuring, who have been able, with the help of internal reserves, to achieve a significant increase in the volumes of output, raise the quality of output to the necessary standard and tighten up labor discipline, is becoming increasingly difficult," A.G. Samarkin, party committee secretary at the Mashinostroitelnyy Zavod "Salyut" Production Association, said at the plenum. We frequently are asked: What next? I answer with the standard statement: the tasks have been set, the plans have been approved, we must implement them. But how? We do not have an answer for each specific case. "One cannot answer because of continuing lack of coordination in the activities of superior economic authorities; not all promises can be kept. Naturally, one could be more cautious in making statements and promises." But will such

caution help us to achieve our objectives," the party committee secretary went on to say. "I doubt it greatly, for it will not contribute to the creative search of means of solving problems, developing the initiative of our workers and applying the type of production organization which will enable every working person at the plant to feel that he is the true master of the enterprise and is responsible for all the affairs of the labor collective."

The participants in the Moscow Gorkom Plenum concentrated on how to give a new impetus to restructuring. One thing is clear: the old method of appeals and exhortations no longer works. Otherwise we risk to undermine the confidence of the people. We are also hindered by the fact that on the crest of the wave of democratization, here and there, the flotsam of social demagoguery and extremism has surfaced. A variety of groups and associations have appeared which, under the banner of restructuring, are speculating on real and imaginary difficulties and problems. Some people are juggling with the slogans of social justice. We cannot ignore the fact that the breakdown of stereotypes, the new situation regarding information and the unparalleled moral-political and emotional intensity of social life in the country and in the capital are leading not only to the strengthening of the true values of socialism in the minds of the people but also, influenced by a variety of reasons, to a distortion of conceptual and moral foundations in some of them. The party organizations are still paying little attention to forecasting the development of social and ideological processes in the city. They do not systematically influence the molding of public opinion in the anticipation of events. There still exists "areas of misunderstanding," which require a thorough explanation of problems related to the restructuring of the economy, individual periods in our history, national relations and problems such as the prevention of drug addiction and some diseases, AIDS in particular, and various types of social anomalies. The plenum recommended the setting up of mobile groups consisting of skilled specialists to provide current information on these topics to Muscovites. "The question of ideological cadres is decisive," the report submitted by the Moscow City Party Committee Bureau noted. "We can no longer tolerate dogmatists and demagogues among them. We need commissars and political managers of restructuring."

This autumn Moscow will mark not only the 70th anniversary of Soviet history but also 840 years from the time that, for the first time, its name appeared among the other cities and villages of our fatherland. Soon the capital will celebrate, for the first time, City Day. This event will remind us once again of the great landmarks of its past and make us think once again of its present and future.

Today the city party organization is crossing a difficult pass. A most important stage in restructuring must be covered. May the words expressed at the Moscow City Party Committee Plenum and the appeal to the party members in the capital be implemented: "The task is the following: every month and in all sectors let there be

some progress, albeit small, but real, visible and tangible. Let us take risks for the sake of our objectives, promptly anticipate changes in the circumstances, be ready for any surprise and be masters of the situation. Let us always be among those who work without respite, persistently promoting practical changes for the better. Such should be our work style during those crucial, difficult but also exceptionally interesting times."

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The October Revolution and the Liberation Movement in India

18020001d Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 38-47

[Article by E.M.Sh. Namboodiripad, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Indian Communist Party (Marxist)]

[Text] The Great October Socialist Revolution had a direct impact on the national liberation movement in India as it did on other colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries. Since by that time the movement had already gone through several consecutive stages, all of its progressive elements warmly welcomed this historical event.

Early Stages of the Liberation Movement

During the first stage of the national liberation movement in India it was the feudal classes—the princes who had lost their thrones and the big landowners, who had lost their power and privileges—that gave an organized form to the spontaneous dissatisfaction of the oppressed people. Region after region, as they passed under the control of foreign occupation forces, became areas of large patriotic actions, in the course of which simple people, united with their rulers, struggled against the interventionists. However, these actions were suppressed. They reached their peak with the most powerful among them, which broke out in the northern part of the country, centered in Delhi, the capital of the Mongol emperors. Its participants displayed unparalleled heroism although, in the final account, they were defeated.

It was the new class—the newly developing bourgeoisie—that then assumed the leadership of the struggle. The new intelligentsia, already raised under the British, subjected British colonial policy to merciless criticism, thus laying the foundations for bourgeois nationalism. However, the country was still at the early stages of capitalist development and the leaders of the liberation movement headed by the bourgeoisie were moderate in their demands, remaining essentially "loyal subjects to Her Majesty the Queen Empress" of England. Nonetheless, they united within a country-wide political organization—the Indian National Congress—which

demanding the type of political and administrative reforms which, in the final account, had they been implemented, would have made India a contemporary liberal capitalist country.

Less than 20 years after the appearance of this organization, which was created and headed by people who described themselves as "moderates," new aspects became noticeable. A new generation emerged in the political arena in India and in many other Asian countries. It was described by V.I. Lenin in his article "A Combustible Material in Global Politics," dated August 1908. Dissatisfied with the "moderates," who were in the majority in the Indian National Congress, these young people adopted the policy of "radicalism," in counterbalance to the policy of begging the mercy of the colonizers. "An open break between 'moderates' and 'extremists' took place in the leadership of the Congress which initially followed the 'moderate' line.

New Revolutionary Groups

The rank-and-file members not only demanded more effective actions against the colonizers but themselves began to act: the bomb and the revolver became the cult of the new generation. Rallying within revolutionary societies, the young launched armed attacks on individual representatives of the system. It was precisely from these ranks that emerged the first generation of fighters for the cause of India's liberation, after the fierce suppression of the participants in an earlier period of the struggle for freedom, which came to an end in the 1850s.

Therefore, the time preceding the outbreak of World War I was a period of extensive revolutionary upsurge. Its active participants and leaders drew their inspiration from the gains of the revolutionary movement in Ireland, Turkey and many other foreign countries. They not only set up action groups in India but sent their supporters to countries in which large groups of Indians resided. The Gadar Party, which was set up in the United States and Canada played a major role in this matter.

During World War I, which broke out against this type of background, the revolutionaries enhanced their activities even further. Unlike some national leaders who supported the British and recruited soldiers in the hope of gaining freedom after the end of the war, they were guided by the principle that "the adverse situation of the enemy offers an opportunity for the nation."

They established contacts with England's main rival in Europe—Germany—and Berlin became a center of organized activities for Indian revolutionaries operating outside India. It was precisely from here that delegations were sent to America and other countries to coordinate the activities of Indian revolutionaries in all countries. The German diplomatic missions in the United States (which had remained neutral during the first stage of the war) used this situation in order to purchase large quantities of weapons, ammunition, and so on. As a

result of all of these efforts, a "temporary government" was set up on Afghan territory in December 1915, headed by Mahendra Pratap, who acted as president. In India itself preparatory work was done to organize uprisings on a national scale, using the weapons which were to be procured from America and other countries. All of these efforts, although well coordinated, like the earlier attempts of the mid-1850s, failed.

Inspiring Example of the Great October Revolution

It was precisely under these circumstances that the patriots in India learned of the Great October Socialist Revolution, thanks to the victory of which the first state of the working class in the world appeared. This event was welcomed by political leaders, such as Tilak and writers, such as Tagor. To the young revolutionaries, who had already developed as fighters for national liberation, ready for any self-sacrifice, the appearance of a new center of the world revolution became a source of true enthusiasm. Many of them risked the difficult crossing of the Himalayas in their attempts to reach the first country of the victorious revolution. Some of them succeeded. V.I. Lenin and the Communist International he headed paid great attention to and helped these revolutionaries both in India and in some other Asian countries.

It was precisely the Indian revolutionaries in Moscow who became members of an organization which was created in Tashkent, the capital of Soviet Uzbekistan, on 17 October 1920, and which was given the name of Communist Party of India. It established contact with the Turkestan Bureau of the Communist International and played an important role in educating communist groups scattered throughout India. It made clear to them differences between a petit-bourgeois revolutionary and a communist, thus laying the grounds for the subsequent consolidation of communist party forces in India.

Gandhi Assumes Leadership

It was at that time that an unparalleled upsurge of mass actions spread throughout the country. A new leadership took the head of the Indian National Congress Party. For the first time in its history, workers and peasants by the hundreds of thousands became involved in active participation in the resistance movement. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who initially became known as the organizer of a passive resistance to racial discrimination in South Africa, returned to India and assumed the leadership of the Congress Party and the implementation of its program for mass struggle. In expanding relations with the popular masses in town and country, he called for a total refusal of cooperation with the British, whose rule he described as "satanic," and for a boycott of governmental institutions, including courts and schools. Never before had the country seen such powerful mass actions for liberation from foreign rule.

However, the movement had some inherent weaknesses. Although it appealed to the patriotic feelings of the people and inspired millions of working people to action, it had no program which could inspire them to mount a struggle. Because of his doctrine, according to which landowners and capitalists were no more than "guardians" of their property, and his persistent preaching of nonviolence at all cost, and other views, Gandhi limited the activities of the simple people who were engaged in active efforts. After the people had accepted his judgment of the "satanic" British rule as an appeal for decisive struggle and had initiated it, Gandhi abandoned the slogan of mass action, saying that his appeal had been a "colossal error." The enthusiasm of the popular masses, triggered by his initial call for energetic steps, was replaced by the disappointment caused by the betrayal of their hopes.

Communist Activities

It was precisely at that stage, after the founding of an organization known as the Indian Communist Party had been set up in Tashkent, that its leaders abroad and activists working in India undertook to enhance the existing and to set up new organizations of communists throughout the country. Leading groups were created in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, the Punjab and so on. The Indian Communist Party issued a manifesto addressed to the delegates to the 1921 session of the National Congress meeting in Ahmedabad. Following such public appeals by the party to the anti-imperialist masses at the Ahmedabad session, the Congress Party held its next session in Kanpur, in which the communists submitted a resolution calling for total independence. Although the resolution was not passed, it became clear that the impact of this slogan formulated by the Communist Party, which was a relatively small and weak organization, on the broad anti-imperialist masses was, in any case, significant.

It was precisely this that explained the hit on the part of the British rulers, who decided that the efforts made by the Communist International to consolidate the various groups in the country and to extend their activities to the trade unions, the peasant organizations and, above all, the national political organization, the Congress Party, was a threat to their empire. They fabricated three trials with charges of "communist conspiracy" in Peshawar, in 1921-1922, followed by a "conspiracy" trial in Kanpur in 1925 which, in turn, was followed by two trials in Peshawar in 1925 and 1927 and, most importantly, they staged their biggest "communist conspiracy" trial in Miruta, which was held from 1929 to 1933.

Unquestionably, these strikes slowed down the process of consolidation and development of the Communist Party as an organization. However, it was impossible to prevent the increased popularity of communism as a theory, ideology and program of action. On the other hand, an increasing number of Indian revolutionaries were attracted to the communists, joined their ranks and

gained Marxist training. The activities of the Communist International Executive Committee and of IMPRE-KORRA, its printed organ, played a most important role in this respect. Each act of repression, which temporarily weakened the organization, was followed by the party's reorganization and its revival. The "conspiracy" trials themselves and the official information published about them in the press made the people realize that this was a force which systematically acts and struggles for the freedom of the country.

Let us make particular mention of the statement by communist defendants at the Miruta trial. In their declaration, for the first time in Indian history, they explained how the communists intend to solve the various problems encountered by their country. The statement exposed the numerous unsupported charges against and slanders of the Communist Party and its policies and thus helped a significant number of people to find out what communism was all about.

However, the practical policy of the party—leading worker strikes, organizing trade unions and youth leagues, engaging in agitation and propaganda work among members of the Congress Party, and so on—was of even greater importance. In order to coordinate this entire work, the communists set up broader organizations generally known as the "Worker-Peasant Party," in the activities of which a large number of people who were not communists participated, including some leaders of the Congress Party. Gradually, these efforts influenced the way of thinking and the behavior of the broad membership of the Congress Party, forcing them, step-by-step, to come closer to accepting the slogan of separating India from the British empire or in other words setting total independence as their national goal.

Acting on a parallel basis with the legal multiple-class organization—the Worker-Peasant Party—the Communist Party itself became an organized revolutionary party of the unified (working) class, operating underground. The adoption of a draft program, the core of which was the prospect for an Indian revolution, and relating it to the solution of social problems such as those of the untouchables, laid the foundations for the ideological consolidation of the various communist groups in the country.

Differentiation Within the National Movement

Meanwhile, a process of differentiation between right and left forces took place within the National Congress Party. The latter were supporting the growing efforts of workers and peasants and showed their solidarity with the international revolutionary forces headed by the USSR. The right-wing leadership was no longer able to prevent the progress of the left. This made possible the establishment of relations between the Congress Party and the international anti-imperialist league, the participation of Congress Party leaders in the legal defense of those indicted at the "conspiracy" trials, and the official

acceptance of the slogan of total independence, initially as a final objective (in Madras in 1927) and, subsequently, as an immediate demand (in Lahore in 1929), the election of left-wing nationalist Jawaharlal Nehru, to the chairmanship of the Lahore session of the Congress Party, the adoption of a resolution on basic rights at the Karachi session (1931), the adoption of an agrarian program at the Faizabad session, and so on.

Growth of the Mass Struggle

After the adoption of the resolution which included the demand for immediate and total independence, headed by Mohandas Gandhi the Congress Party formulated a direct action plan for a campaign of civil disobedience on a country-wide scale. Its implementation enthused the entire country and thousands of men and women, old and young, belonging to all castes, municipalities, linguistic and cultural groups, and so on, were drawn into the campaign. This was a struggle significantly broader and better organized, compared to the one of the previous decade. However, major differences existed between these two waves of direct mass action (the present and the one at the beginning of the 1920s), indicating that the national liberation movement had reached a qualitatively higher stage.

In the face of the inflexible position held by the colonizers, as in the past the Congress Party leadership was forced to resort to the threat of a mass struggle. However, it allowed such actions only in forms which would have prevented any militant mass efforts. Despite these precautionary steps, unprecedented events took place in Sholapur (Maharashtra): for a few days fighting factory workers were able to control the situation in the city, ignoring the official authorities. In Chittagong, East Bengal (today Bangladesh), the young revolutionaries mounted a daring raid on the arsenal and seized weapons. In another part of the country, in the Northwestern Border Province, militant Pathans, organized by Khan Abdul Gafar Khan strictly in accordance with Gandhi's instructions, mounted a number of armed operations. The Garhwal Rifles, who had been ordered to fire on the Pathans, refused to obey, thus proving that the spirit of patriotism had penetrated the ranks of the military (subsequently, Chandan Singh, the commander of the Garhwal Rifles, joined the Communist Party).

Struggle Subordinated to Talks

While the people involved in the movement were displaying their higher combative spirit and organization compared to the preceding decade, the bourgeois leadership was mastering the art of using their activeness to initiate a dialogue with the British rulers. The old appeal to reject cooperation did not involve any acceptance of talks as part of the struggle: it was a direct call for refusal to cooperate with the British government in order to gain independence. When the leadership realized that the masses were overstepping the line drawn for their action the struggle was halted unilaterally.

However, this appeal for action had been preceded by several rounds of talks—dialogues and contacts with representatives of the British authorities. The authorities were given 1 full year to meet the following demand: during that period the Congress Party would initiate India-wide direct action in support of the demand for total independence (rather than the earlier moderate demand). After the expiration of the deadline and the resolution of the Congress Party to initiate the struggle, as its unquestionable leader, Gandhi wrote a letter to the viceroy in which the demand for total independence was somewhat reduced and presented in an 11-point charter. When even this suggestion was rejected, the Congress Party launched the struggle on a country-wide scale.

Forced to take action, therefore, the leaders of the Congress Party, who were jailed as a result of the struggle, initiated talks which, 1 year later, ended with an agreement. This tactic of developing the mass struggle and holding talks with the British colonizers was used by the British authorities to implement a devilish plan for the division of the country. They set some population groups against other in opposing the demand for total independence and the organizations which had formulated this demand.

Divide and Rule

Essentially, this process began as early as the turn of the century, when the colonizers made skillful use of the Muslim community—the largest religious minority—and its organization, the Islamic League, as a counterbalance to the nationalistic leadership provided by the Congress Party. Then came the turn of other groups, such as non-Brahmin communities in Madras and Bombay, the Sikhs in the Punjab, the Christians throughout the country, the oppressed classes and so on, i.e., anyone who had any reason to be displeased with the nationalistic leadership. Furthermore, the British authorities threw their support behind inveterate enemies of freedom and the democratic movement, such as rulers of principalities, landlords, Indian and British business circles, and others.

The British countered the mass militant movement, which started in 1930, by convening a roundtable conference in London to discuss and settle the matter of constitutional reforms in India. At that time the Congress Party was heading the struggle, for which reason it boycotted the conference. The talks, which ended with the March 1931 agreement, made possible the participation of the Congress Party in the second session of the roundtable conference, in the course of which the British authorities were able to isolate Gandhi, who was the sole representative of the Congress Party, in such a way that he was forced to return to India empty-handed. Having no alternative, the Congress Party was thus forced to initiate mass actions once again. In less than 1 year, however, this struggle was suppressed.

The Socialist Soviet Union: An Attractive Alternative

Disappointed by this development of events, the rank-and-file Congress Party members and the popular masses began to seek new ways. Naturally, this was helped by the efforts of the small groups of communists, which had appeared more than a decade previously, but much more so by the impressive accomplishments of the Soviet Union in the implementation of its first 5-year plan. The politically aware people throughout the country could see the striking contrast between the severe economic crisis in the capitalist world and the impressive economic growth of the socialist Soviet Union. The left wing of the Congress Party and the other patriotic organizations reached the conclusion that in order for the Indian revolution to succeed it should abandon the methods of the petit-bourgeois revolutionaries and launch mass actions in which the independent activities of the working class and the peasantry would play a key role.

This trend led to the creation of a new organization—the Congress-Socialist Party. The founding of the new party coincided in time with the release from jail of the party members sentenced at the Miruta trial, which was followed by the organization of the all-Indian leadership of the Communist Party. This not only revived the activities of existing trade unions and their center—the All-Indian Congress of Trade Unions—but also led to the appearance of the All-Indian Peasant Union. It became the nucleus of the peasant organizations which rapidly expanded on a national scale. Other all-Indian organizations, such as the student federation, the Association of Progressive Writers, and so on, proved that the appearance of the two leftist parties (ICP and CSP) coincided with the development of organized mass and class movements.

All of these events took place during a period when in the international arena the forces opposing fascism and the preparations for a new war were increasingly uniting their ranks. The emotional appeal launched by the Communist International at its 7th Congress, in 1935, inspired not only socialists and communists but also the broad patriotic strata organized within the Indian National Congress. A united front of communists, socialists and left-wing nationalists developed within the Congress Party. It was successful in giving a leftist direction to the policies of this national organization. Although it was in the minority, this group enjoyed such great support among the rank-and-file members and the people that the leadership of the organization deemed it necessary to cooperate with the left wing in the course of the anticipated bitter struggle against the British authorities. For 3 years the Congress Party was chaired by representatives of left-wing nationalists: Jawaharlal Nehru for 2 years (1936-1938), followed by Subhas Chandra Bose. A large number of communists and socialists assumed leading positions in the provincial, regional and lower Congress Party organizations. This

was a time when this leading national organization experienced the greatest influence of the left-wing forces, and, furthermore, was supported by numerous active organizations of the working people—of workers, peasants, the urban and rural intelligentsia, and others.

The Struggle Between Left and Right

However, this situation did not last long. A conflict broke out within the Congress Party between rightists and leftists on the question of whether it was worth engaging in talks with the British authorities or organize active mass actions aimed at expelling them from the country. When this question was thus formulated by S.Ch. Bose, the candidate nominated by the left-wing nationalists for the elections for president of the Congress Party in 1939, the leadership, headed by Mohandas Gandhi, mounted a fierce struggle which lasted several months. As a result, Bose was not only removed from his position as president of the Congress Party but also expelled from the party. He then created a new party, "Forward Bloc," and formulated a course of action which opposed both the line of the right-wing leadership of the Congress Party and the course charted by the other leftist parties, such as the communists and the socialists.

Outbreak of the World War

The right-wing leadership of the Congress Party and the new party founded by Bose—the Congress-Socialist and the Communist Party—fought each other on the question of the nature of the war which broke out in 1939. The leadership of the Congress Party wanted to use the outbreak of the war to apply pressure on the British so that they may grant concessions and agree to the demands of the nation through talks. Conversely, Bose formulated an alternate line, trying to make use of the military situation, the situation in Southeast Asia above all, in order to organize an Indian national army. The Communist Party rejected both ways and called for active opposition to imperialism during the first stage of the war and, subsequently, after the Soviet Union, which was attacked by Nazi Germany, entered the war, proclaimed the slogan of the struggle against fascism and thereby for achieving Indian independence. In turn, the socialist countries described this line as subservience to the Soviet Union and took the positions of frenzied anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

The leadership of the Congress Party, headed by Gandhi, in pursuing a course aimed, in the final account, at reaching an agreement with the British colonizers on the question of India's independence, engaged in no more than symbolic opposition to the British during the first stage of the war. However, after realizing that the entry of Japan in the war and the advance of the Nazi army within Soviet territory had put the British in an exceptionally difficult situation, which required the aid and cooperation of the leadership of the nationalistic movement in India, in August 1942 the Congress Party leadership began direct actions against the British under

the slogan "Out of India!" claiming that this campaign would be "short and quick." The communists, who rejected this suicidal line, were labeled "traitors to the revolution."

It was thus that the young Communist Party found itself in an exceptionally difficult situation. Millions of people looked up to the Congress Party as the party which had started the "August revolution," to the socialists as leaders who had implemented in practice the appeal of the Congress Party, and to Bose as the organizer of the armed struggle against British rule in India. They looked at the Communist Party as an organization uninvolved in the struggle.

By the time the war ended, the struggle initiated by the Congress Party had been suppressed, as Gandhi said, with the "fierceness of a lion." The Congress Party and Gandhi, its leader, were forced to resume talks with the British. As to the Bose, his attempt to enter India with the Japanese army failed and his party collapsed. The British colonizers were able to impose upon the Congress Party unsuitable conditions. They made skillful use of the demands of the Islamic League which called for the creation of Pakistan. The leadership of the Congress Party was forced either to accept the division of the country as payment for independence or else to continue to wage a simultaneous struggle against the British and against the Islamic League. Most of the Congress Party leadership favored the first alternative. Their leader, Gandhi, however, opposed it. The former viewpoint prevailed and the problem was settled on that basis.

Postwar Revolutionary Upsurge

This type of development could have been prevented had the Congress Party decided to rely on the new revolutionary upsurge which spread throughout the country after the war. The upsurge began with ubiquitous demonstrations and the demand to free the officers and soldiers of the Indian National Army created by Bose. Although the right and left wings within the Congress Party, the communists, the socialists and the other antifascists had opposed Bose's line, which had culminated in the establishment of the Indian National Army (the Indian National Army, which was set up by Bose, consisted of former Indian military servicemen, who had fought within the British Armed Forces and had been captured by the Japanese in Southeast Asia), all of them united in supporting the demand that the British free the officers and soldiers who had struggled for Indian independence. In the final account this unanimous demand forced the British authorities to release their prisoners. This was the first victory of the people in the postwar years.

Subsequent to these events, the personnel of the Royal Indian Navy mutinied in 1946. The uprising, which began in Bombay and gained the powerful support of the organized movement of the working class, in which the communists played an important role, rapidly spread to

other centers where naval bases existed. The British authorities saw in this one more dangerous warning and reached the conclusion that their time had ended. The events developed so rapidly that slightly 1 year after the Bombay uprising, the British government declared that the British would leave India in the second half of 1947.

At the same time a series of strikes spread throughout the country. Strikes by blue-collar workers and by white-collar workers who became involved in the struggle—members of the middle-classes including state employees, and the decisive struggle waged by the peoples of the principalities, who demanded democratic reforms and, above all, the energetic actions of the peasants in Bengal, Maharashtra, Tripur and others, which culminated with the armed struggle of the workers in Alleppey and Travancore, and the even more stubborn and lengthy guerrilla armed struggle in Telangan, proved (along with the uprising of the Royal Indian Fleet in Bombay) that the British would be unable to preserve their domination of India for long.

Independence and the Division of the Country

The British, who were unable to rule the country any further, decided to leave after creating conditions which would deprive the Indian people of the possibility of living a peaceful life. They pretended to accept the demand of the Congress Party, i.e., to leave India, as well as the demand on the Islamic League on the division of the country into a state with a Hindu majority (the Indian Union) and a state with a Muslim majority (Pakistan). The protracted talks on the ways of transferring power were so irritating to the two communities that the achieving of independence by the just-created state coincided with an unparalleled outburst of genocide in which both communities became involved.

The people, who had gained their independence under these circumstances, welcomed this event with mixed feelings. Joy occasioned by the acquired freedom was marred by the thoughts that those who had been brothers in arms during the years of struggle were at each other's throats on the eve of and immediately after the proclamation of sovereignty. The 40 years which have passed since then have been spoiled by relations of hostility between the two states and between majority and minority groups in both countries. One of those who was disappointed by such freedom, gained as a result of a lengthy trouble, was Mohandas Gandhi, who refused to participate in the celebrations on the occasion.

Defense of National Independence and Unity

This marked the end of one of the periods of the Indian national liberation movement: the struggle for the political freedom of the country ended. A new period began, a period of strengthening political independence and making it the starting point in ensuring the true freedom for the toiling people—socioeconomic, cultural and political progress. The tremendous achievements of the

Soviet state, which has existed for the past 70 years, and of the other socialist countries, which were established in the course of the past 40 years, are a source of inspiration for the Indian people in their aspiration toward this objective.

In preparing, together with all other nations in the world, to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (while India will be celebrating the 40th anniversary of its independence), we do not forget the aggressive intents of the ruling U.S. circles aimed at achieving world domination. They are threatening our country's independence and national unity as well as those of all other Third World countries. Some members of the ruling classes do not realize the serious threat to India and many opposition parties hold opportunistic positions and support the subversive forces, based on the short-term interests of the struggle for votes. That is why the duty of all progressive people is jointly to rebuff anyone who contributes to the growth of the subversive elements, who are erecting barriers on the way to strengthening the freedom gained as a result of hard-fought battles.

That is why the Indian Communist Party (Marxist) has included in its program an appeal for unity among all patriotic forces within the nation, specifically addressed to those who favor the elimination of the vestiges of the pre-capitalist system, and making a full agrarian revolution in the interest of the peasantry and the elimination of all consequences of the domination of foreign capital and the elimination of obstacles which hindered the radical restructuring of India's economy, social life and culture of its peoples.

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On the Crest of Revolutionary Creativity; The 110th Anniversary of the Birth of F.E. Dzerzhinskiy

18020001e Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 48-58

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[Text] F.E. Dzerzhinskiy joined the revolution at 17 and died at 48. How much did this short life encompass? Eleven years were spent in forced labor and exile. There were years of clandestine work among Polish workers. There was the unparalleled uprising in jail, in 1902, when Dzerzhinskiy became chairman of the "Free Republic" on the territory of the Aleksandrovskaya Central Prison near Irkutsk. There was escape from exile. There was the revolution of 1905-1907, in the course of which Yuzef (Dzerzhinskiy's party pseudonym) was one of the leaders of the Social Democratic

Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL). There was a first meeting with Lenin in 1906, at the 4th RSDWP Congress, where the SDKPiL merged with the party of the Russian proletariat. There was his nomination as member of the RSDWP Central Committee in 1907 and the writing of the unique book "Diary of An Inmate," which indicated not only the strength of the spirit and depth of thought but also the great literary talent of its author. There was the meeting with Gorkiy in Capri, after the latest escape from Siberian exile. There was his marriage to a revolutionary (Sofya Sigizmundovna Dzerzhinskaya gave birth to her son Jan in jail).

After the February revolution there was work in the Moscow Soviet and the military buro of the Moscow committee, and the creation of Red Guard detachments, participation in the 7th (April) Party Conference and, subsequently, the 6th Congress, where he was re-elected member of the Central Committee. He participated in the 10 October 1917 Central Committee meeting, at which Lenin's resolution on armed uprising was adopted. At that meeting, on Dzerzhinskiy's motion, a politburo was created, consisting of seven members, headed by Lenin. There was work in the military revolutionary center in charge of leading the uprising. The Second Congress of Soviets, which proclaimed the victory of the socialist revolution, elected Dzerzhinskiy member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and, several days later, member of the VTsIK Presidium.

At the age of 40, with clandestine work, hard labor, escapes and armed uprisings behind him, he was forced to begin an entirely unfamiliar way of life as one of the leaders of a ruling party and member of the government in the first state of working people building a new society. He became chairman of the VChK (subsequently the OGPU), people's commissar of internal affairs and defender of the republic from the counterrevolution. Dzerzhinskiy was unable to give up such responsibilities to the very end of his days although he invariably plunged into constructive work. He took over everything: without leaving the VChK, in 1921 he became people's commissar of railroads; in 1924 he became chairman of the USSR Higher Council of the National Economy (VSNKh) and, subsequently, chairman of Glavmetall, without leaving his work at the OGPU and the VSNKh.

Dzerzhinskiy has been the subject of several scientific and popular biographies. Scientific works have been written on his activities in the VChK and OGPU and in the national economy. An innumerable number of articles, novels, stories, motion pictures and plays have been written about him. Is it conceivable that something new could be added? Is it not time for the interest of readers and viewers to wane? It is not. This interest is even growing. The reason is not only the attractiveness of an extraordinary individual. The nationwide interest in the sources and roots of socialism, the revolution, and the life and activities of Lenin and his fellow-workers

remains unabated. Interest in the revolutionary past has become particularly intensive with the beginning of the revolutionary restructuring of today. The new economic reform has drawn attention to one of the aspects of historical experience related to the personality of Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskiy: the practical experience of the NEP, the beginning of which coincides with the first steps of Dzerzhinskiy's economic activities, will be precisely the topic of this article.

Attention to the Person

The NEP created a system of full cost accounting although, true, not on the plant but on the trust level. However, it was quite strict, for the system was introduced in the course of the concentration campaign. Enterprises no longer received budget funds; inefficient enterprises were closed down and production was concentrated on the best among them. Profitability became a mandatory requirement, subsidies were only temporary and for the few of the largest enterprises the output of which was needed by the entire national economy—the railroads, and some heavy industry plants. Under these circumstances Dzerzhinskiy mounted several large-scale campaigns aimed at upgrading production efficiency.

The first was the 1923 campaign for lowering the cost of transportation, based on a method suggested by the worker Ilin. Ilin's charts, which were famous at that time, provided a clear method for comparing outlays (labor, fuel, materials) with results (the useful work of the transportation system). Current data for all indicators were compared with the 1913 level which, at that time, was the goal to be reached. Ilin's charts, persistently promoted by Dzerzhinskiy, were an efficient means of discovering possibilities and eliminating irresponsibility.

This was followed by the struggle for lowering procurement prices of industrial commodities, a problem which was of both economic and political importance. With the conversion to cost accounting and the start of a strict financial policy, industry could rely only on the what the consumer would pay for its output. Many enterprises increased their prices in order to cover their losses.

The consumer at large, however, the peasant market above all, was unable to pay for expensive goods. A severe marketing crisis broke out in 1923. To some industrial managers the solution rested in broadening budget-financed state orders—for the railroads, the maritime fleet and defense—and maintaining high monopoly prices on the consumer market.

Dzerzhinskiy opposed this drastically. This opposition was voiced with particular emphasis in his note to the Labor and Defense Council, on the subject of the metal industry. He proved that the policy of high prices adopted in this sector triggered an "insoluble contradiction: the population was not about to buy, for prices were excessively high; the state could not simply place orders,

for the population was too poor to provide to the state funds to this effect" (F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works] in two volumes, Politizdat, Moscow, 1977. Vol 1, pp 368-369. Subsequent references to this work will indicate volume and page only). In a specific study, Dzerzhinskiy proved that high prices are caused not by objective reasons but by negligence, by a drastically increased fuel expenditures compared with prewar times, and by a surplus of auxiliary workers. The computations had been made such as to justify all actual expenditures. The main reason for the developing situation, according to Dzerzhinskiy, was departmental monopoly: "The point is that being a monopolist, it is easier and more profitable, benefiting from the metal hunger in the country and the mobilization of the forces in opposition to state orders, to raise prices rather than lower costs which support thousands of 'job holders'" (vol 1, pp 375-376).

Dzerzhinskiy believed that national interests always stood above departmental, not to mention personal, interests. As people's commissar of railroads, he indignantly rejected the computations of officials within the people's commissariat, which proved the need for greater state subsidies. As chairman of Glavmetall, he stubbornly struggled against the Gosplan decision to lower production assignments in the sector for the 1924/25 economic year, and succeeded: the plan was raised and, subsequently, greatly overfulfilled. Dzerzhinskiy tirelessly demanded a faster turnover of working capital, promoting this through economic and administrative pressure and propagandizing in his speeches the idea of accelerated turnover. As a result, the metal industry released a great deal of funds by selling dormant stocks and was able to ensure its independent development without turning to the state budget for help. Dzerzhinskiy mounted a fierce campaign for increasing labor productivity and against unjustified wage increases. He quarreled with the AUCCTU and took the matter to the party's Central Committee plenum, openly describing the low labor productivity in enterprises under his jurisdiction. He was supported by the Central Committee in his dispute with the trade union leadership.

It may seem that he was nothing but a strict administrator, who could "tighten up the screws," which was the case of many people who had emerged during those tempestuous revolutionary years. But here is what V.R. Menzhinskiy, his VChK deputy, wrote after Dzerzhinskiy's death: "He was an economic manager, a supporter of nationalization and promoter of labor discipline. He was able to prove at huge worker meetings the need for less workers in factories and was able to succeed more frequently and with less difficulty than the professionals. When Dzerzhinskiy said something, it was the truth. The love for and trust in Dzerzhinskiy on the part of the workers were infinite." What was the secret of this influence? Was it the charm of an outstanding personality? Was it the authority of a leader, who was known as an "iron man" for the exigency he displayed toward

himself? This too is possible. But is it enough when it becomes a question of the vital problems of daily life, work and wages on which the life of the workers and their families during those hungry years totally depended? Obviously, there was more. The trust of the workers was strengthened also by their knowledge that Dzerzhinskiy not only demanded of them additional efforts but that, furthermore, was doing everything possible to improve their lives.

As we know, one of the first major economic operations mounted by Dzerzhinskiy as people's commissar of railroads was his Siberian expedition. The trip to Siberia in January-February 1922 was for procuring food supplies for the hungry population along the Volga. On his return from Siberia he said: "I believe that the main reason for the poor work of the railroads is the disgusting organization of the matter of supplies to the workers." He also said that "the main conclusion from the work in Siberia, in my view, is the need to decentralize the management of the transportation system, to grant greater regional rights...and to settle the question of supplies to the workers" (vol 1, pp 244-245).

At that time he was concerned by widespread bribery in transportation, which had assumed a huge scale. He issued an appeal to the railroad workers, in which he wrote:

"The eternal shame of tsarist Russia—the system of farming out, extortion and bribery—has become firmly entrenched in the most sensitive area of our economic organism—the railroads. Bribery in the railroads has become such an 'normal' phenomenon that the sensitivity of many railroad comrades has been dulled. Anything can be bought and sold along the railroads with a bribe which, with the skillful infamous hands of corrupters, is proportionally distributed between switchmen and the higher ranks" (vol 1, p 233).

The catastrophic increase in thievery triggered equal concern. Dzerzhinskiy declared war to bribes and thefts and applied punitive measures, using the VChK. However, not relying exclusively on administrative methods, at the same time he thought hard about the socioeconomic roots of this evil. Thus, we read in his letter to an official of the NKPS:

"Attention is urgently required in the matter of the struggle against thefts. So far we have approached the problem one-sidedly and erroneously by increasing the number security personnel. The result has been a vicious circle, for we must protect the freight from our own guards. We must take a different way, more accurate albeit longer and harder, namely:

"1. Reduce security forces to the maximum, supply them adequately and select them well.

"2. Determine and eliminate the conditions which encourage thievery..." (vol 1, p 299).

He discussed bribery at the October 1922 Congress of Transportation Workers: "...The main reason is that of insufficient wages." He explained: "Consider the cashier at the luggage or passenger counters. How much does he earn? Is he interested in seeing to it that the ticket he issues does not fall into the hands of a speculator?" (vol 1, pp 286, 290). Dzerzhinskiy's addresses at that congress are among the many examples of his comprehensive approach to socioeconomic policy and understanding the objective interconnection among all its elements. Are wages low? Yes, but labor productivity as well is far below the prewar level. Fuel expenditures per unit of useful work are double the prewar average. As a result, the railroads are working at a loss and the state is short of funds with which to compensate for such losses. The transportation system owes its suppliers for metal and fuel and is unable to meet even the low payroll, not to mention funds for increasing wages. Some comrades think that the printing press can help: print more money. "With the new economic policy, under the conditions of trade and exchange of products, a printing press does not create a value," Dzerzhinskiy answered. Raise freight rates? An attempt was made to increase passenger rates on river transportation. "For example," Dzerzhinskiy asked, "when we raised our rates, water transport workers, were we right or wrong? All of you will unanimously say that we destroyed your passenger traffic." Passengers refused to take the boats and the losses of the shipping administration increased. The only solution is to put an end to irresponsibility and to lower costs. To this effect we must "crush with an iron hand this monstrous centralism which previously, during the war years, had been of tremendous service but which now has become only an obstacle to the development and recovery of our economy" (vol 1, pp 273, 289, 282). This required an end to departmentalism and showing concern for the user of transportation services. It called for strengthening the ruble and state finances.

The mass struggle against irresponsibility, which was organized by Dzerzhinskiy, yielded results. In no more than 2 years the volume of freight haulage increased drastically and wages to transport workers quadrupled; passenger transportation rates were lowered and the railroads became profitable. Theft and bribery in the transportation system diminished.

The efforts of other sectors were also necessary in order to reduce losses in transportation. The prices of the coal and metal purchased by the railroads had to be lowered. The industrial managers' response to the appeal of the people's commissar of railroads was that this was impossible. Dzerzhinskiy insisted that he was right, proving it in his usual way: through action. He managed to put several mines under the jurisdiction of the NKPS. He was given the poorest ones which, however, in several months became among the best and began to produce inexpensive coal. He promoted autonomy in supplying the railroads with firewood. In a fierce dispute he defended the existence of railroad schools and did not

surrender them to the People's Commissariat of Education. He was not bothered by the "democratic" argument of equality. If for the time being better schools cannot be provided for all children, let schools be better perhaps for a few. One must not "urge down" the best schools to the level of the worst. In his speech at the Congress of Transportation Workers he recalled these disputes, expressing his typical understanding of the inseparable link between material and spiritual development and the ties between economics and culture, economics and the social sphere, and economic and politics.

"The rule of main administrations dominated all of our areas and it is this that doomed us. They wanted to favor us with firewood although we could have procured it ourselves and depend on ourselves alone; they wanted to favor us with education, although we ourselves, who are profoundly interested in this, could undertake education, for without education, there can be no transportation. If there are no clubs and schools, if there is no place where to send the children, if our children are turning wild, if we ourselves have no clubs for cultural work, how could there be a question of becoming the masters of this foundation on which the dictatorship of the proletariat is being constructed. Education is a matter of production and economic management. Wherever there is no knowledge there is no navigation; where there is no culture there is no proletarian power but bribery, and self-seeking but no awareness of the mission of the proletariat. Yet it is only such awareness that helps us to live and work under the conditions under which the transportation system operates" (vol 1, p 285).

The Plan and the Market

On 2 February 1924 Dzerzhinskiy was named chairman of the Higher Council of the National Economy of the USSR (VSNKh). On 23 February he addressed for the first time the managers of the largest enterprises and trusts at the plenum of the Council of Congresses of State Industry and Trade. One of the main topics in his speech was the struggle for controlling the market. Dzerzhinskiy said: "...We must be able to pass on all labor results to the worker and the peasant. Under the conditions of a monetary circulation this means mastering the trade apparatus and influencing trade." Noting the tremendous disparity between wholesale prices in industry and retail prices, he went on to say that "this is the cost of our ignorance, the cost of the fact that we are too slow in learning how to trade as we were taught by Vladimir Ilich" (vol 2, p 8).

The following sentence in this speech is noteworthy: "If we, i.e., state industry—trusts, syndicates—are unable to control the market and to dictate our prices to retailers—our own low prices and not the high ones..., it is obvious that we cannot discuss the fact that we have been instructed to regulate the entire trading system..." (vol 2, p 9). This applies to the event described by Dzerzhinskiy in which the state price turned out to be higher than the price on the private market. What is of interest to us

here, however, is control of the market. Not ordering, not prohibiting and prescribing, but flooding the market with inexpensive goods. That is the meaning of market control.

The target is clear but how to reach it? With an uncontrolled market or with complete freedom to compete? It is true that the note to the metallurgical industry we mentioned (November 1923) included the following suggestion: "To review in its essential features the expediency of the policy of organizing monopoly syndicates, considering the creation of opportunities for state orders and for the population (the market) to influence a price reduction by introducing in the organization of our industry, wherever possible, features of rivalry and competition" (vol 1, p 380). One year later, however, Dzerzhinskiy said: "Why are the Urals of union-wide importance? Because they must not engage in rivalry with the south. We cannot allow and we must eliminate such unhealthy rivalry, for unhealthy rivalry and competition are two different things. If we allow rivalry what happens to our planned economy and planning principles and to our political interests which are related to preventing an area which is the cradle of worker culture from perishing?" (vol 2, p 105). A clear line divides healthy and unhealthy rivalry: healthy rivalry (competition) is not aimed at the destruction of the rival. Its objective is to lower costs and improve work quality.

Therefore it is the market but not as a field of anarchic competitive struggle for destruction but above all as a place where the labor product, offered for sale, is subjected to "social accountability," as Lenin said (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 3, p 310), i.e., where it is assessed by the customer. The market is organized on a planned basis. Already then the serious authors did not raise a question which some people are still trying to raise: a choice between the plan and the market. Even the capitalist countries, which replaced "free" competition with the growing power of the monopolies, have not had total market anarchy, and even under the conditions of the NEP the land of the soviets did not aspire to such "freedom." The real question was the following: Who will control whom: would the market control the plan or vice versa? Naturally, to Dzerzhinskiy as well as to all those who were fighting for the victory of socialism, the question did not exist, for their choice was clear: a controlled instead of controlling market.

An argument broke out among the communists as to how to control. One of the noted episodes in this argument was the arguing between the VSNKh, headed by Dzerzhinskiy, and the People's Commissariat of Commerce, which enjoyed the support of Kamenev, the then chairman of the STO, as to methods for planning trade or of the so-called "strict deliveries" (described in the article "F.E. Dzerzhinskiy and the Establishment of a Planned Economy," *Kommunist*, No 13, 1983). The VSNKh firmly favored democratic control methods. However, mastering such methods was neither quick nor simple. A

mechanism to this effect had to be created literally from scratch. Nothing had been written on this subject by the Marxist classics, for it was only in the autumn of 1921 that Lenin reached the conclusion of the applicability of commodity-monetary relations in building socialism. Nor could the experience of the capitalist economy help in structuring a mechanism for socialist planned control of the market. It is true that capitalism is concerned with controlling the market and that it had been dealing with this problem since the turn of the century. However, it had done so by different methods and, above all, had been guided by interests different from those of socialism. That is why all that could be borrowed from capitalist economic practices was the external, the organizational aspect: in 1922 syndicates were set up as trade associations in industry. Their establishment is related to the efforts of V.P. Nogin, and the organization of an overall system of syndicates as democratic authorities for the planned control of the market was accomplished under Dzerzhinskiy's management.

It is of essential importance to evaluate the role of the syndicates precisely as instruments of planned control of trade, operating with relative independence, alongside authorities such as the People's Commissariat of Trade and Tsentrosoyuz. Dzerzhinskiy said: "There are many other state authorities which study average figures and, on their basis, identify certain trends. Unlike them, the Council of Syndicates is precisely an authority which is close to the trade system and which is in touch with the market day after day. It is the agency which must remove any abnormality which must be opposed" (vol 2, p 453).

Dzerzhinskiy explained the laws governing control of a specific organism such as the market, in which efforts at applying direct mandatory influence lead to undesirable results, as follows:

"How can one plan? The VSNKh of the Union has had an adverse reaction to so-called 'strict procurements.' In this respect we proceeded from the need to take into consideration changing circumstances. We have an enemy—the market element; this is our enemy in the area of economic planning. We do not have all the elements of the market under control, for which reason we cannot formulate strict plans on a quarterly basis. In this case the 'strict procurements' style of management of retail prices is entirely out of our hands. Meanwhile, retaining this type of control is the most important advantage of proper planning" (vol 2, p 454).

The democratic nature of syndicates as voluntary shareholding associations working on a full cost accounting basis and accountable to the enterprises which set them up is of particular interest in terms of contemporary studies. Naturally, the straight duplication of their experience under present-day conditions is unnecessary. Some principles of their work, however, we believe, could be useful in solving the problems of today's restructuring, particularly the difficult problem of converting to wholesale trade in means of production.

So far the allocation of funded material resources is usually linked to their scarcity. However, as was noted at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it is precisely centralized funding that increases shortages in the contemporary economy. But how to get rid of it? The number of economic relations which appear every year in our economy is estimated in the hundreds of millions. Without the regulatory work of specialized intermediary organizations normal relations among enterprises would be inconceivable. Obviously, a conversion to wholesale trade will not be accompanied by a simple rejection of the services of sectorial and territorial agencies within the Gossnab system, which will be needed in the future as well. The real task is for such intermediary authorities to eliminate bureaucracy and irresponsibility and work on the basis of full and informal cost accounting and not dominate enterprises but be accountable to them and bear economic and administrative responsibility for the full satisfaction of enterprise requirements. The syndicates met all of these requirements. Their administration was appointed by a board and the board was elected by a meeting of representatives of shareholding enterprises and was accountable to them. The material well-being of the syndicates depended on the demand of enterprises for their services. In the case of low-quality services, the enterprises had the right to refuse them and to market their products independently. This excluded the possibility of a monopoly. It would be useful today to study the possibility of converting the territorial and sectorial Gossnab agencies into syndicate-type organizations and to use within the activities of the Gossnab itself the principles which governed the work of the Council of Syndicates.

Naturally, the study of the experience of the VSNKh, headed by Dzerzhinskiy, in the area of the interaction between the plan and the market cannot be reduced merely to the study of the structure and the legal foundations of the syndicate system. The price policy which was exercised with the help of the syndicates and which was the foundation for the systematic influence on the market, was exceptionally important. We know that the syndicate form was developed while seeking means of closing the price gap, which led to a marketing crisis. The gap itself appeared for objective reasons. The petty commodity peasant economy, with its primitive technical base, rapidly rebuilt the production process, supplying the market with an increasing amount of products, thus lowering prices. Meanwhile, the large industrial enterprises took more time to recover from the dislocation and kept their prices high. The peasants were forced to provide a great deal more agricultural output in exchange for industrial goods than had been the case before the war. Nonetheless, many of them were still unable to buy many commodities. A marketing crisis broke out and industry itself suffered from its own high prices. However, reducing such prices was difficult for production costs as well remained high under the conditions of the economic dislocation.

An unprecedented undertaking, such as building a new society, cannot be implemented without errors even

under the most favorable circumstances. This was a short period of troubles, errors and searching in the work of the newly born syndicates. Thus, the syndicates in the metal industry tried to make their prices even higher, for which reason they were criticized particularly sharply by Dzerzhinskiy, as people's commissar of railroads. Soon afterwards, having assumed the management of industry, Feliks Edmundovich concentrated all the efforts of the syndicates and the trusts on the struggle for lowering wholesale prices.

It was precisely in the course of this struggle that Dzerzhinskiy developed the anti-outlay concept of economic management and price setting which, in one of his speeches, was unexpectedly described with the outstanding aphorism: "...Production costs do not always necessarily have to determine prices. Perhaps in our country it is prices that must determine production costs..." (vol 2, p 79). In other words, the price which is set by the market dictates the maximal production cost at which the production of a given commodity makes sense. In practice it turned out that closing down production facilities in this case was not mandatory. After prices dropped and there were no more subsidies, the enterprises found ways of lowering outlays.

By February 1924 (as compared to 1 October 1923) the wholesale price index in industry had dropped by 29 percent. The price gap had closed.

On the Approaches to Industrialization

By 1925 industry had essentially reached its prewar production level. As of that point conditions for economic growth changed drastically. During the restoration period expanding production facilities did not require major capital investments: the capacity of the old enterprises was increased. However, after all such enterprises reached full capacity further growth became dependent on new construction and reconstruction. The time for industrialization and for finding the huge resources to finance it had come.

The political situation demanded industrialization within an unparalleled short time. This was dictated by the threat of the hostile encirclement and internal political considerations: the need to lay material foundations for the socialist restructuring of the countryside. The task was complicated by the fact that one could not rely on any external financing sources, to which other countries had resorted in their industrialization, such as the exploitation of colonies, war reparations or loans. A scientific and practical problem unparalleled in history appeared: to find internal sources of accumulation for industrialization.

Dzerzhinskiy was one of the first, if not the first, to address himself to this topic which he considered in detail as early as in his letter to A.M. Ginzburg, dated 23 October 1924. He subsequently developed it in his speech at the 2 December conference and in his note to

M.K. Vladimirov and V.N. Mantsev, dated 16 December of that same year. These documents anticipated a number of ideas which were formulated in sharp debates on industrialization, which broke out only 1 year afterwards, at the 14th Party Congress, and ended at the 16th Congress in 1930.

As described by Dzerzhinskiy, the internal sources of accumulation could be classified into three basic groups. The first was a regimen of savings in the national economy: reducing production costs, accelerating the convertibility of funds and lowering labor and material losses. The second was that of involving population funds through taxation, loans, etc. The third was using the funds of the peasantry through a corresponding policy of taxes and prices of agricultural and industrial commodities. The decisions concerning the scale and means of involving population and peasant funds were essentially not only economic but also political, affecting above all the Leninist policy of "convergence"—the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. They became the focal point of debates with the "new opposition," which was apparent at the 14th Party Congress, headed by Kamenev and Zinovyev and the Trotsky-Zinovyev bloc, which was created subsequently. Dramatic clashes on such problems continued even later, after Dzerzhinskiy's death (which occurred on 20 July 1926, a few hours after a heated polemical speech at the party's Central Committee plenum, which dealt precisely with such arguments). The thoughts and arguments voiced by Dzerzhinskiy in the course of such quests and debates are interesting to this day.

Excerpt from the letter to A.M. Ginzburg:

"...Each one of our plants, trusts or establishments must display the greatest possible activeness in the struggle for lowering the prices of what it purchases (plus wages), both in the case of other trusts and plants and syndicates, as well as private producers and merchants. Those who purchase its products will be active in turn. Such efforts will also be the base for administrative price controls in our case as well as that of the People's Commissariat of Domestic Trade. Without such a base, without such a participation of interested units and without their work, administrative regulation would entail a number of negative phenomena" (vol 2, p 72).

In this letter, for the first time Dzerzhinskiy addresses himself to problems of sources of accumulation for industrialization. Why is it that once again the topic of lowering prices arises in such a document? Dzerzhinskiy had worked hard to close the price gap. Nonetheless, supporters of lower prices were not all that numerous. Dzerzhinskiy considered the lowering of wholesale prices a means of broadening the market because of the crisis. With low wholesale prices, he struggled to lower retail prices as well so that the retailer (private or state, it made no difference, as he mercilessly struggled against the black marketeering activities of state trusts) would

not have unearned income. Nonetheless, he never abandoned the efforts to direct prices toward a level which would ensure a balance between supply and demand. After industry had begun to work at full capacity and all of its output had a market, any further drop in prices would no longer help to increase either consumption or production. The sole result would have been a disorganization of the market in favor of speculators. At that point, at the beginning of 1926, Dzerzhinskiy said:

"...Bearing in mind the market's situation, we should not think of lowering procurement prices, for that which worked in 1923/24 no longer has a place now, when retail prices are 100 or more percent higher than our factory prices, and unless we lower today our manufacturing prices, the gap will benefit not the peasant but the middleman who will appropriate such funds. That is why this year factory prices must not be lowered" (vol 2, p 407).

Therefore, Dzerzhinskiy's demand for lower prices should not be considered an appeal for taking a simple administrative action and ignoring the existing market ratios. It was a question of long-term socioeconomic policy. Dzerzhinskiy rejected the suggestion of promoting industrialization by robbing the peasantry. As early as 1924, i.e., 1 year before this question became one of the main topics of the discussion with the "new opposition," he wrote:

"The attempts...inherited from a private-ownership economy of accumulating by increasing prices on the basis of a monopoly domination of the market should and could bring about not the necessary accumulation but, conversely, a waste of funds and a lowering of output and loss of the national wealth, i.e., a narrowing of the base which is the only source of the necessary funds" (vol 2, p 115).

He further wrote:

"...The VSNKh as such has two tasks: to draw up a plan for laying the technical foundations of socialism and state power and, secondly, the maximal utilization of existing plants and industry as a whole from the viewpoint of ensuring the greatest possible satisfaction of the needs of the population, improving its well-being and meeting the requirements of the alliance between workers and peasants" (Ibid.).

In 1926 the national economy was no longer facing a marketing crisis but a commodity hunger. With the restoration of the prewar volumes of output the prewar market proportions were by no means restored, for the revolution had freed the peasantry from its huge debt to the tsarist government and the landowners, so that after surmounting the dislocation its demand for industrial commodities was substantially higher than in the past. Industry was unable to meet it.

Profiting from the good harvest of 1925, the economic authorities tried to perform the following maneuver: to import needed industrial commodities and thus give the suppliers more money with which to purchase grain from the peasantry, and therefore to increase the grain-export stocks and more than simply compensate for import costs. The maneuver failed, for the goods were imported too late and were not those the market needed. The additional money given to the suppliers for the purchases was not backed by goods, market prices rose and the peasants began to withhold grain sales. Dzerzhinskiy said: "...Unless we give the peasant cash for his grain and the peasant can purchase industrial goods with it, he will no longer sell his grain and the money in circulation will continue to circulate uselessly or even to the detriment of the state" (vol 2, p 396). This statement was included in the report submitted to the 23rd Extraordinary Lenin-grad Conference of the VKP(b) on 11 February 1926. Dzerzhinskiy was among the Central Committee members who were sent to Leningrad to tell the party members in the city the truth about the statements made by the "new opposition" not only at the recently held 14th Party Congress, at which Zinovyev, one of the leaders of the opposition, demanded that the problem be solved by applying pressure on the peasantry and forcing it to surrender its grain. The opposition blamed the peasants for all the existing troubles. Dzerzhinskiy accused departmental bureaucracy, as follows:

"One of the organic shortcomings of our foreign trade has been the fact that foreign trade was not only a state monopoly but the monopoly of a single department which had a hostile attitude toward other interested departments, and displayed a feeling of exclusivity.... Even prior to the congress the Central Committee plenum had reorganized the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade. It had merged it with the People's Commissariat of Internal Trade and stipulated that the interested economic authorities must handle foreign trade matters. The lack of organization of foreign trade was the reason for the failure of the maneuver which we attempted" (vol 2, p 398).

The opposition was becoming increasingly louder and at the April 1926 Central Committee plenum Dzerzhinskiy said: "The speeches which were made here by them, the means they chose to procure funds and the way they formulated the problem of where to find funds for the industrialization of the country all indicated that it was a question of robbing the muzhik" (vol 2, p 423). Dzerzhinskiy demanded improvements in the work of industry, the commodity procurement and the commodity procurement system, and a reduction of inflated staffs:

"The entire trouble lies in the inflated tables of organization, in our bureaucratism. We must try to eliminate such shortcomings.... You are saying: look, the muzhik has money, for which reason he does not wish take his grain to the market. But I ask you: If you are not supplying him with goods why should the muzhik give

you grain? Under these circumstances the grain could be taken from the muzhik only if we go back to olden times, i.e., appoint landowners who would get the zemstvo chiefs in trouble and they in turn would get in trouble the muzhik" (vol 2, p 427).

"We cannot industrialize if we speak of the prosperity of the countryside with a sense of fear," Dzerzhinskiy said in his last speech (vol 2, p 507).

Naturally, there were arguments not only as to where to find the necessary funds for industrialization but also how to spend them. Accelerating the turnover of working capital, mastering the new equipment and upgrading labor productivity were things which Dzerzhinskiy tirelessly called for, without ever trying to embellish the situation in "his own" industrial department. In his last speech he sharply retorted to his own VSNKh deputy: "I...am against the method suggested by Pyatakov as far as industry is concerned, which is to present matters as though everything is in order in industry and all we need is more money" (vol 2, p 504). The following view is also typical:

"We already have the experience of Volkhovstroy, when we believed that it would cost us relatively little money, whereas in fact we had to invest in it huge funds. The reason was that we undertook to build Volkhovstroy without adequate planning. We should have spent more time on preliminary studies of this matter in order to complete the project not in more than 5 years but in 2 or 3 years and thus achieve faster returns on the funds we had invested. That is why today we should not be in a hurry with Dneprostroy" (vol 2, pp 290-291).

Contemporary hydroelectric power builders, who have become accustomed to take 10 to 20 years to complete a project would be stunned by Dzerzhinskiy's figures. In addition to them, however, the following words are also noteworthy: "We should not be in a hurry."

The experience of those long-vanished times is today frequently scorned by our economic managers: What, they ask, could one learn from such old methods when there were no modern technology, planning or the scale? Unquestionably, however, one thing that we can learn is the approach to the work.

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05003

To Develop Consumption Standards

18020001f Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) p 59

[Letter to the editors by I. Kochevykh, Hero of Socialist Labor, candidate of technical sciences, director of the Giproselmash Institute, Kiev]

[Text] This short letter and the analytical article received by the editors, combined under the heading of "Our Needs. Reality and Prospects" raise a specific question.

We have decided to combine them in this journal for the reason that together, despite the entire difference in genres and authors' approaches, they provide a fuller idea of the relevance and difficulty of this problem.

My request is for a discussion in the journal of the following theoretical and practical problem: the need for an adequacy of production and consumption. I share the belief that civilization means not the satisfaction of needs but their sensible restriction. A country which produces an increasing number of goods and which sells its resources becomes potentially poorer, rather than richer, and destroys the environment.

Man needs food, housing and clothing. He must maintain his physical, moral and mental self. I believe that no more than one-third of the current output is needed for sensible consumption and for satisfying refined needs and comforts. The level of commodity output is defined by novelty and quality rather than volume; the cultural standards of the people define sensible and adequate consumption.

A great deal is being said on the extent of losses of agricultural commodities in harvesting and storage. But how much is wasted on the table! We purchase a huge quantity of objects which remain totally unused. We are motivated in this by negative human qualities, such as envy, profit and greed.

People of all ages must be taught to lead a sensible life and our entire propaganda system must be put to work for this objective. Culture cannot exist without knowledge of history, philosophy, literature or art, or without the knowledge of the rules governing good taste, household management, etc. Popular books on such problems must be published and this science must be taught from childhood to old age. Our society has confidence in the future. Its social consumption funds and a well-organized service industry could help substantially to reduce commodity output.

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Need for New Approaches

18020001g Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 60-69

[Article by Natalya Mikhaylovna Rimashevskaya, department head, USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economic-Mathematical Institute, doctor of economic sciences, professor]

[Text] The new approach to the interconnection between the economic and social areas and the broad humanizing and democratization of society reformulate the question of human needs as refracted in terms of individuals and society. The results of restructuring and the possibilities

of socialism will be judged by what society actually offers man and the extent to which it is socially efficient, the June 1987 Central Committee Plenum emphasized.

Who or what are man and his demands within the social management system? Do our studies and solutions take adequately into consideration the complexity of the dialectics of social and individual needs? What should be the mechanism of their conscious shaping on a democratic basis, under conditions in which not the abstract individual but the real, the specific individual with his typical orientations and preferences becomes the center of social policy? These are the questions which are knocking at the door, a door which must not be kept tightly shut.

We need a new approach to the consideration of conditions and factors which shape population demand and the structure and hierarchy of demand and the differentiation between need and solvent demand, consumption and consumerism, and interconnection among needs, interests and behavioral motivations. A profound understanding of the dynamics of needs, knowledge of the complex laws governing their dynamics and the ability to influence the processes which shape them are, in the final account, the conditions which govern the efficiency of social management.

In this case we shall not cover the entire range of the variety of human needs, including social, cultural and spiritual; we shall discuss only those related to the utilization of economic resources.

On Balancing and Priorities

First of all: How extensive are the possibilities of purposefully influencing and shaping needs, controlling demands, and so on? In order to answer this question we must bear in mind that needs can be both objective and subjective. Their development is objectively determined. However, they take their final shape and become concretized through the human mind. They manifest themselves subjectively and are expressed through the aspirations and preferences of individuals and of society as a whole.

We know that a number of various factors—historical-ethnic, climate-geographic, sociodemographic and economic—influence the shaping of social needs. However, it is the development of production forces, new technologies and means of production, and contemporary methods and labor products, which are the result of scientific and technical progress, that play the decisive role. The new means of production create new products. However, they also change man himself by creating essentially new requirements. As he transforms the objects and means he needs for his survival, man himself develops, as a result of which his needs increase and become more varied. Therefore, it is not only the new items which are produced but also the essential facilities for producing them that assume great importance. Clearly, one can consume

only that which he produces. Something else, however, is equally accurate: as far as consumption in a given society is concerned, we can demand of the commodity and service market only that which we can essentially produce (and for which demand has been created), once a certain level of scientific and technical development has been reached. What matters in this case is increasing contacts among people, the scale of the actual offer of consumer goods, intensified exchange among goods produced in different areas and the possibility of "exposure" of the individual consumer to new consumer items.

Today the crucial problem of the people's well-being rests in the contradiction between the needs of the population, based on the achievements of science and technology and the high technological standard reached in many sectors, and the possibility of satisfying such need, limited by the low level of development of production forces in the production of goods and services. On the one hand, we have satellite communications systems, robots, lasers and fourth-generation computers; on the other, we have hundreds of settlements which are still roadless; a certain percentage of families are still using kerosene stoves and a significant number of rayon hospitals have neither running water nor sewer lines. A kind of "shortcut" has appeared in the production structure, which creates major difficulties in satisfying the needs of the population, needs which arise under the influence of overall objectively major conditions. In turn, this produces an imbalance between supply and demand of commodities and services, which has been afflicting us for more than a decade by now, shortages in terms of quantity and, above all, a scarcity of high-quality consumer goods, including those in the area of social consumption funds.

Clearly, any effort to correct a condition of unsatisfied demand and unbalanced needs solely on the distribution and redistribution level by, shall we say, holding back income, controlling prices and intensifying our study of demand could lead only to temporary and rather doubtful improvements, followed by a new round of disproportions in the consumption area. Radical restructuring is necessary above all in the production of consumer goods, ensuring steady and intensive improvements in quality and variety which is in fact the objective of the Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and Services Between 1986 and the Year 2000. This presumes a major renovation of material and technical facilities and the technology for generating goods and services, which will actually lead to a consistent and balanced interconnection among the production of raw and other materials, complementing goods, machines, equipment and finished consumer goods. Above all, this will constitute the new economic mechanism which should set in motion and enhance all the material components of the production process.

Attempts at artificially obstructing the growth of needs as we solve the balancing problem are doomed in

advance by virtue of the objective nature of the mechanism of their restructuring; they are also fraught with serious adverse consequences as is any deliberate restraint on progress.

The needs of society as a whole and of the individual or the family are not random choices but an internally interrelated system, sounding like the haunting words of a song. The system of social needs has a complex hierarchical structure (abstract, functional, specific) and a multiple classification adapted to the various areas of human activities. The most essential and noteworthy aspects in this case are the simultaneous transformation of the entire structure of consumer needs and changes in their individual components in the course of their dynamics. It is impossible, should anyone of them change, for the others to remain stable. In this case the nature of such changes has a strictly defined trend and is the manifestation of a stable pattern.

Under circumstances controlled by wage and income differentiations, the development and satisfaction of the needs of various population groups take place on different levels. On a relatively low income level, some needs are either underdeveloped or poorly satisfied due to their high flexibility and low urgency in the system of individual preferences. However, some of them are socially significant. Their development and satisfaction is more important from the standpoint of society than of the individual. This applies to the need for education, culture, health care and raising the growing generation. The resolution of contradictions between individual and social preferences is achieved with the social consumption funds, the purpose of which is to provide equal access to consumer benefits which meet the most significant needs of all population groups, from the social viewpoint, regardless of the level of material well-being of such groups.

However, should we not revise some traditional approaches in this area as well?

With increased prosperity and increasing needs, individual preferences begin increasingly to coincide with those of society; among some population strata they even acquire priority. Nonetheless, because of their specific features as a distribution institution, the social funds are "prepared" to meet socially significant needs only on the average level, ensuring equal consumption within the range of social guarantees. Here again we have a contradiction between individual and social preferences but somehow on the opposite side. Social restrictions hinder the development of individual needs. The resolution of this contradiction is possible only with an optimal combination of paid with free services. Such an optimal combination is possible if all population groups are provided equal accessibility to social benefits within the limits of certain social standards; a higher consumption level is achieved through the system of commodity-monetary relations.

Thus, an equitable distribution of housing, which would take maximally into consideration the needs of the different population groups, is possible only on the basis of combining free residential premises consistent with socially guaranteed standards with payments based on real prices (i.e., distribution consistent with a labor equivalent) of anything which exceeds such standards, taking the quality of housing into consideration. Such an approach enables us optimally to combine individual with social preferences.

The application of this principle to other social priority needs, naturally while taking comprehensively into consideration their specific nature, enables us to establish the most accurate correlation between paid and free services. In other words, in principle partially paid services can satisfy all priority needs. However, the share of the payment and the manner in which they are made substantially depend on the level of priority. The more important the need is the greater becomes the role which social funds must play in financing the production of the corresponding goods. It is obvious that in the area of education and health care the role of social consumption funds is much greater than in housing and culture, the more so since maintaining human health (as a functional requirement) implies a number of specific steps related to health safety, restoration, strengthening, etc., the social significance of which, in turn, also varies.

Nonetheless, while totally freeing the population from health care costs, and here as well restricting consumption to the limits of the collective funds, society thereby prevents ever larger groups of families from satisfying such needs on a higher level than is possible out of centralized sources. As a result, said needs either remains unsatisfied or else population expenditures take a circuitous way thus providing someone with unearned income. Furthermore, the funds allocated for health purposes which fail to find a respective offer, go into other goods which are sometimes either secondary or individually and socially less important. This leads to an inevitable deformation of the system of needs, distorts the effect of the principle of distribution according to labor and lowers its efficiency.

"Levels" of Consumption and Consumerism

One of the basic features in the development of needs is the cumulative nature of their growth. The appearance of new needs does not mean in the least the total disappearance of the old; substantive changes affect nothing but their importance within the general structure; it is as though old needs yield to new ones, "compressing" themselves. An increase in needs is an indication of their enrichment, greater variety, multiple stratification and diverging development. The scale of growth of needs is basically the most accurate characterization of the dynamics of living standards, the more so since new demands appear on the basis of the already existing ones and providing that the latter have been satisfied.

Specific needs arise and take shape under the direct influence of specific goods or services. In this case the scale of their actual offer plays a most important role. A specific interval develops between the time that a new product has come out and the new social need for it has appeared, in the course of which said need "takes over the masses" and becomes widespread.

The natural result of the cumulative development of needs is their greater differentiation by population groups and strata. As the people's well-being improves, said differentiation can only increase. Specialists in the economically developed countries note a transition from the previous model of "mass production-mass consumption" to differentiated demand and customized consumption, which also leads to customized offer.

"...Unity within socialist society," the 27th Party Congress noted, "does not mean in the least any equalization of social life. Socialism is developing the entire variety of interests, needs and capabilities...." Furthermore, without such a variety there neither is nor could there be any development of the creative principle; this principle is the foundation and main prerequisite for the further growth of the intellectual potential of society and the comprehensive enhancement of human talent, capability and initiative. Any restrictive approach to the development of needs and their differentiation and variety consequently becomes an obstacle to the development of the individual. This makes even more damaging the diktat of the producer over the consumer, which has become prevalent in our country.

What principles influence the producer-"dictator?" Above all, his reliance on an average abstract consumer, who will buy anything resting on store shelves, and the aspiration officially to balance supply and demand indicators, regardless of variety and quality, and reach the stipulated volumes with the help of items which are the easiest to produce by the enterprise and absolutely reach and report on meeting the stipulated indicators. Clearly, this leaves no place for the real consumer with his differentiated requirements. This becomes somewhat apparent in the plans which, however, are aimed not at attaining efficient standards of proven worth or true commodity turnover, which is also hardly an adequate proof of true population demand. As studies have indicated, satisfied demand (in trade) is substantially lower than unsatisfied and hidden demand, which is directed elsewhere, and impulsive types of demand which inevitably arise as a result of actual imbalance.

Results of scientific studies prove that today the majority of the population has reached a level of material well-being in which, in addition to income, the structure of need and demand is influenced by other factors as well: the sociodemographic type of family (a married couple with or without children, a family of retired people, a partial family, single people), professional-skill employment (intellectuals, workers with low, average or high degrees of skill, people working in the service

industry, managers), type of housing (individual apartment in a state-owned building, privately owned home, cooperative apartment), age of the family (young or mature, aged couple, a young or elderly single person), and car ownership. A certain classification of families has been established through multidimensional analysis, indicating that with the same type of income the structure of needs, consumption and orientation of the population shows substantial disparities based on sociodemographic factors, education, profession and specific living conditions.

All that we have said so far on the objective grounds for shaping needs does not mean in the least that they are not responsive to any active influence or that no such problem exists. On the contrary, the gravity of the matter increases as society increasingly becomes aware of its status as a single entity, with an expanding range of social objectives and interest. We frequently speak of the deliberate shaping of the needs of man today and in the future. I repeat, a social need for this does exist. But how to satisfy it without violating the development of democracy, and what should be the mechanism for shaping needs not "from above" but in a truly democratic fashion? We believe that such a mechanism must be based on the variety of supply, and supply competition, which requires the total rejection of the concept that it is uneconomical to duplicate the manufacturing of a specific product. It is only under this condition, with the possibility of a choice, that the individual becomes not simply the object but the subject of the shaping of a system of needs. Such a trend is already manifested in the party's decisions concerning the economic reform.

We believe that the more systematically we implement the principle of equal access to certain consumer goods by all population strata and groups, the more successful will be the development of needs required from the social viewpoint.

Let us also mention a means of shaping needs, such as the active struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism, also waged by limiting alcoholic beverage supplies. Obviously, this approach is justified from the following logical viewpoint: supply creates need and the lack of supply eliminates and destroys it. However, this logic is too simple to satisfy such a complex phenomenon as human demand with all the aspects and laws governing its development. If a certain demand appears it can only limit another which satisfies the same functional need but differently. In order to replace the need for alcohol it is important to determine what are the objective circumstances which created this need, what functional need they satisfy, in what direction could such a need be changed and how is it possible to reduce and replace it. Limiting supply, like price increases, contributes to lowering the satisfaction of demand and its gradual transference to other consumer goods (consistent with flexibility and persistence) if such goods are available on the market. The main way for shaping needs goes through influencing the objective living conditions of the

people and the active offer of commodities and services of the type and quality which would interest not only the individual consumer but society at large. The intensive variety of supply should not only fully satisfy existing demand but also shape new types of demand, progressive in the sense of the harmonious development of the individual.

No one doubts the need to develop a consumption standard and, in particular, to help the people make rational use of their leisure time with the assistance of the mass information media and even advertising. However, true consumption standards are organically related to the level of consumption of material goods, the development of the social infrastructure and the real living conditions of the population. It cannot ignore the fact that 10 percent of urban families have less than 5 square meters of housing per person, that approximately 15 percent of the population lives in communal apartments and hostels and that a considerable part of individual housing in the countryside and a certain portion of it in the cities lacks elementary conveniences. The consumption infrastructure—roads, trade and consumer and cultural services—is poorly developed, particularly in the rural areas. Under these circumstances the consumption standard as well remains low.

We speak frequently and a great deal about consumerism, and the fact that it does not contribute to the spiritual enrichment of the individual and to his harmonious development and, in the worst case, is harmful to him. We forget occasionally, however, that this phenomenon develops within us not because of abundance but on the basis of a distorted system of consumption, under the conditions of a chronic scarcity of commodities and services and their low quality. "Scarcity" (i.e., a scarce commodity) becomes the most important element of so-called prestige consumption. The low quality of domestic goods is if not the direct in any case the indirect reason for a preference for imported goods. Therefore, this becomes above all a problem of the socioeconomic conditions of our life although, naturally, we must not ignore the influence which a consumerist mentality has on a certain segment of the population.

How to solve the problem of consumerism? The measures and means which have been suggested are as heterogeneous as are the reasons for the phenomenon. Unquestionably, the implementation of the measures earmarked in the areas of economics and social policy plays a decisive role. It is important, nonetheless, to declare war on waste not only in the production area but also at home, in the family, on the level of individual and collective consumption. In this connection, studies pertaining to household economics and the popularization of efficient home management are of great importance. A major role could be played here by the creation of a consumer union as a public organization which would defend the interest of consumers by rating the quality of

items, providing information on new commodities, promoting a socialist way of life and consumption standards, and opposing negative phenomena in this area.

However, while waging a decisive struggle against consumerism, it is important not to flush the baby down the drain with the basin, nor to exceed the limit beyond which any restriction in consumption (against which we already cautioned) would lead to asceticism. It would be a major error to apply the negative term "consumerism" to any increase in the scale of consumption related to the legitimate growth of needs and consumer motivations for work. The latter circumstance is particularly dangerous from the viewpoint of the stimulating functions of wages.

We know that the material interest of the worker is shaped under the influence of a group of circumstances related to the implementation of the main principle of distribution under socialism, based on the quantity and quality of labor, as well as the motivation for higher earnings and the aspiration to work harder in order to obtain a corresponding equivalent in the guise of specific consumer goods.

The studies which were made have indicated that despite these existing views on the even, gradual and systematic change in consumption (and demand) by the population, paralleling the growth of income, i.e., a certain automatic interconnection between them (which is what it appears to be on the surface of the phenomena), there also are discrete changes in consumption, which occur subsequent to or, rather, along with the growth of material well-being. On the microlevel, wherever real consumption takes shape, certain "levels" of consumer behavior develop, each one of which is characterized by a certain structure, a consumer orientation and a certain standard of consumption specific to the given level of development of needs. The transition from one "level" to another requires the harnessing of the material resources of the family and a substantial enhancement of labor activeness, which is a source of income. However, this must be preceded by clearly defined corresponding needs, which are the main impetus for a person to advance toward a new consumption structure.

It is interesting to point out that the greatest efforts must be made not only in attaining a new "level" but in remaining there, in achieving full satisfaction of requirements within the new structure. Naturally, this requires additional income and higher earning and, consequently, further labor efforts and higher skills. However, this mechanism can be entirely adequate only if the structure of available commodities and services is consistent with that of demand. This determines the particular relevance of the study and anticipation of demand.

A 'Rational' Approach and the Future

The system of human needs, which is strict, internally interrelated, has a specific type of development and is by no means fully known, cannot be appreciated and,

particularly, anticipated on a long-term basis with the help of standards, however rational they may be. Nonetheless, it is precisely this type of standards that were considered for a long time (and to a certain extent still are) the only scientific basis for determining existing and expected population needs. These standards, which were extensively used in economic practice starting with the 1960s, were considered progressive. None the less, they clearly proved the extremely low level of actual consumption in our country, and thus contributed to increasing the production of consumer goods.

As a relatively high level of consumption is reached, such a standardized approach is not only impossible to follow but also becomes potentially threatening. This is due above all to the very nature of the "rational" methodology, in the course of which a variety of means, including natural scientific, are accepted as sensible and desirable consumption levels for specific commodities (such as foodstuffs as a whole or individual goods) in the guise of standards, while combinations of such standards, expressed through specific prices and rates of services, determine the size of the rational consumer budget and its structure. Such standards include a great many details and it is believed that the more detailed they are the more accurate the computations become. For example, there are standards for models of shoes for daily wear, made of rubber or felt, for sports, for children, for women, for men, and so on. The "aggregation" of such indicators characterizes the amount of shoes needed on an average per person, the percentage of expenditures for shoes in a rational consumer budget and corresponding demand.

Nonetheless, the simple consequence of needs as a system is that requirements of a given functional type can be only "disaggregated" based on the means of their satisfaction (on the specific types of consumer goods), the more so since specific needs have a tendency frequently to change with the development of scientific and technical progress. Any "aggregation" of detailed standards and the combination of such "aggregates" means replacing the natural laws of dynamics of the system of needs with our concepts of such needs.

Clearly, a "rational" approach to defining needs arose as a requirement in planning practices to define the long-range development of the production of consumer goods and services. There existed and, unfortunately, there still exists a practical planning illusion according to which it would suffice for a scientific institution to define a standard which it considers rational from its own viewpoint for population needs and to key the production process to reaching such standards and eventually to attaining them, for all (or almost all) problems relative to the people's well-being will be solved. Fortunately, it has become clear to many people that there is a tremendous disparity between this type of "sensible" consumption and what the population itself believes to be sensible.

A production process oriented toward set standards took one direction and the development of needs and corresponding demand, another. Life "divorced" them. For example, in terms of per capita shoe manufacturing, we almost reached efficient standards by producing roughly three pair of shoes per person per year, including the newly born. In any case, of all durable goods (fabrics, knitted goods, shoes, radio receivers, television sets, and so on) the level of the actual consumption of shoes in percentage of the standards which were drafted in 1975 was the highest. Nonetheless, it is a known fact that demand for shoes is by no means satisfied and that it is precisely shoes that are among the scarcest commodities.

The standards proved to be unsuitable in determining population needs. Nor were they justified in terms of balanced planning within the sector. The use of individual standards in the plans for the development of individual commodities sharply clashed with the internal interrelationship among the various types of needs. For example, what was the reason for the insufficient use of capacities for the production of photographic cameras, based on rational standards? The specialists note, in particular, that the production of photographic materials and respective services was not developed. However, this is not all. The authors of the forecasts did not anticipate that soon inexpensive tape recorders, followed by other, more complex popular household equipment would appear and which would be preferred by many "mean-statistical consumers" compared to the anticipated purchases of photographic cameras.

In frequent cases production rates did not match real market requirements or took market dynamics into consideration. In some cases it was not the sector which was oriented toward production rates but production rates which were based on the possibilities of the sector. In fact this adversely affected both production rates and the production process. Based on the need to plan production (it was necessary to know not only the amount of long-term output of fabrics, men's suits, shirts and ties) a trend toward excessive detailing of rates developed, transferred to the consumption microlevel, which clashes with the principle itself of defining long-term requirements. Finally, the pursuit of standards oriented the production process primarily toward quantitative growth, neglecting quality and variety. Satisfying current population demand was given second priority.

An essentially new methodology is needed, based on knowledge of the real laws governing the dynamics of population demand.

Solvent needs could be considered, studied and analyzed at least in three different areas: on the levels of the macro- and microdemand and on the regional level.

We believe that in the area of macrodemand today the efforts must be directed essentially toward the ability to assess the needs of the various sociodemographic groups and strata: families with different levels of material

well-being, urban and rural residents, children and young people, the elderly and the disabled, young families and families with different professional affiliation. The practice of orientation toward the average consumer has exhausted its possibilities, for which reason the planning of trade must not be limited merely to average indicators; it must comprehensively take into consideration differentiated data on family incomes and needs. For it is obvious that solvent demand of individual sociodemographic groups showed substantial disparities in terms of macrostructure, i.e., in terms of the correlation between commodities and paid services, foodstuffs and durable goods, clothing and consumer and household goods. Such differences in consumer orientation and in the hierarchy of needs must be fully reflected in our annual, 5-year and long-term plans.

What are the specific means for a better definition of the macrostructure offered by contemporary science? One of them is the differentiated balance of population income and consumption, which enables us to take into consideration the specific way in which population demand is formed, based on income levels and differentiations, geographic location and the social affiliation of the family. The USSR Academy of Sciences TsEMI developed a methodology for drawing a planned differentiated balance and another differentiated balance based on statistical data. Experimental balances for the country as a whole and for a number of republics, economic rayons, oblasts and cities were formulated as well. We believe that this entire arsenal must be used more extensively in statistical and planning practices. Today we need not only the testing of the methodology developed by the USSR State Statistical Committee but also its actual application, which has been held back for a number of years.

The second type of practical instruments is the classification of consumers, for which a method has already been developed. This enables us to take into consideration in greater detail the structure of the families compared with the differentiated balance; their interconnection enables us to solve the new planning and economic problems which arise in the practical management of the national economy.

A different situation prevails in the study of microdemand, i.e., demand for individual models or varieties of commodities and the study of demand and consumption by population microgroups, for which, for the time being, no steady statistical information flows exist. It cannot be said that microdemand is not studied at all in our country. An entire system of services exists, there are constant surveys of customers, daily information is studied and so is information on exhibits-sales and expert surveys. Methods have been developed for the use and processing data of consumer "panels" (the dynamic study of family budgets, year after year). Despite all this, only rarely is information on population preferences used in the formulation of forecasts and in production planning and commodity marketing.

One of the reasons for this situation is that the gathering of information on microdemand is a labor-intensive and costly process. We must have data on the purchasing and consumption of a wide variety of goods and their various models, and the preferences and intentions of consumer strata themselves. This requires special selective studies and observations. Practical experience indicates that the regular gathering of data relative to microdemand involving no more than two or three groups of commodities requires significant efforts even with well-organized information gathering methods, such as consumer "panels." However, labor intensiveness is not the main obstacle in the creation of microdemand information systems. A number of key problems remain unsolved. The very object of the studies is still relatively limited and one-sided. As a rule, the attention is focused on clarifying subjective and circumstantial aspects, such as the opinions of customers, their intentions, preferences and dislikes, attitudes toward the offered varieties of goods, etc.

However, the objective trends in developing population demand cannot be determined on the basis of subjective consumer evaluations. Quite frequently the situation develops in such a way that the market becomes oversaturated with certain commodities while consumer demand, according to surveys, remain high; if both production and trade are guided in determining demand by such circumstantial data, it becomes entirely obvious that such commodities will remain unsold.

Different research logic and methods are needed to explain the real laws governing the development of microdemand. It is important to convert from the study of the purchaser of a specific commodity to the study of the consumer in the course of the consumption process. This means that instead of the study of detailed and circumstantial aspects influencing the purchasing of a certain item, we must determine the integral structures of consumer behavior. We would need to study a variety of problems. How is such a structure formed? Under what circumstances, and in what kind of environment? What are the laws governing the development of value-orientations, tastes, and preferences shown by different types of consumers? In short, we must have a clear idea of the type of conditions which lead to the creation of a variety of different needs and the level of consumption which they determine.

The main aspect of the revolutionary changes taking place in society is the real turn of the economy toward the daily needs of man, an orientation toward his existence and future needs. Unquestionably, the success of restructuring will be secured if we convert to real action aimed at the good of man on all levels of economic and social building.

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Long-Term Action Documents

18020001h Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 13,
Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 70-72

[Letter to the editors by Galina Sergeyevna Arefyeva, head of the Department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Moscow Energy Institute, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor]

[Text] "An Overall Concept for the Renovation of the Higher School" is the leitmotif of the responses of our readers to the publication in the press of the "Basic Directions in the Restructuring of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the Country," adopted by the CPSU Central Committee, and the five subsequent CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees. Following are some of these letters to the editors.

The practical nature of the responses is noteworthy. In emphasizing the importance and timeliness of the documents, the authors note that inevitably in the course of the reform difficulties and problems arise in the VUZs. Some of them are discussed, ways of solving them are suggested and acquired experience is described. Such information must be handled carefully and efficiently and anything useful it contains must be developed further.

With the beginning of the new school year some of the measures stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees will be implemented. Thus, we must revise the structure of cadre training and approve a new list of skills. Scholarships to undergraduate and graduate students will be raised as of 1 September 1987 and a new wage system will be gradually introduced, raising the wages and salaries of the personnel in higher educational institutions. These and other steps will lay the organizational and material prerequisites for restructuring. The main task now is to guide the activities of the party organizations and the greater social activeness of professors, instructors and students toward attaining a qualitatively new educational standard. Our time demands of everyone intensive and creative work, which is a guarantee for the successful implementation of the target set to the higher school.

Training specialists who can actively become part of restructuring is one of the important components of success in the implementation of the party's strategic course. The solution of this problem urgently requires radical changes in higher school activities. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees direct us toward precisely such type of qualitative reorganization of the entire system of training young specialists.

Let me note one feature: anyone not indifferent to developments within the higher education system, and such people are many, has long and painfully experienced the symptoms of, let us bluntly say, pre-crisis

phenomena: decline in the quality of specialist training, vanished scientific trends, loss of high reputation of educators along with gradual equalization of the mass of teachers, general overorganization, formalistic requirements and large numbers of instructions and accountability reports. All of this was discussed and, to the extent of the possible, opposed. The prevalent mood today is a desire to work, to attain set objectives, so that the Soviet higher school can assume its proper role in society and in the course of its revolutionary renovation.

A large number of questions are raised in the various documents, unquestionably requiring serious consideration, work and inclusion in the overall context of VUZ life. But first, however, allow me to express my overall opinion.

First, the methodological approach to the reorganization of the higher school and the way to solve this problem are based on the study of the situation in higher education and the specific nature of the current stage in the development of society. Naturally, the main attention is focused on shortcomings and unsolved problems, which does not reduce in the least the accomplishments of the higher school.

Second, shortcomings in higher school activities are considered not as its specific faults but as a reflection of negative phenomena in social life. The scientific approach adopted in the documents presumes the study of such phenomena from the social viewpoint nature and as a refraction within VUZ activities of social life with its inherent successes, contradictions, difficulties and failures.

Third, the adopted documents provide an overall concept of restructuring. Its purpose is to upgrade the level and efficiency of higher training. The main way to accomplish this is the conversion from extensive to intensive methods, and from purely quantitative to primarily qualitative indicators. The principal mechanisms of restructuring have been established: development of VUZ science; upgrading, on this basis, the scientific skills of teachers; emphasizing independent work by students and, in this connection, potentially reorganizing the nature of teaching; changing the system of management with a view to eliminating petty supervision and developing independence and autonomous activities in all various areas of VUZ life.

On the one hand, the integral nature of this concept provides clear guidelines for restructuring; on the other, it presumes an active search, experimentation and, in the final account, the shaping of a new type of teacher and student.

Fourth, I consider quite important the fact that the objectives of restructuring are supported in the documents by very specific steps. Thus, the struggle for

quality is backed by substantial material incentive provided to conscientious students: differentiated scholarships, linking the quality of training to the nature of assignments and introducing elements of competitiveness in the training process. Obviously, the system of teacher certification should become part of the efforts to achieve such results.

Finally, as a social scientist I cannot fail to point out that the idea that training and upbringing are one and the same runs through the entire "Basic Directions." The problem of the socioeconomic, conceptual, general-cultural and humanistic trend in education is formulated broadly not only for social science departments (although, naturally, this applies above all to them) but also to all VUZ teachers, for which reason it can be solved only through their joint efforts.

Today the VUZs are actively searching for new methods. There have been some successes but there have also been failures. Such efforts were initiated immediately after the 27th CPSU Congress and were particularly enhanced in connection with the discussion of the "Basic Directions" draft. It is important for us to avoid repeating our old errors, something which could happen, for habits and traditions of the past die hard to one extent or another in all of us. Such deep-seated stereotypes lead some people to collecting information about successes achieved in restructuring while others report them in great detail. I am convinced that today such reports are at best well-motivated self-delusions. It is to be hoped that the USSR Minvuz, which has already greatly changed its work style, will not start demanding plans and reports on restructuring, which would inevitably result in the customary practice of pro-forma reports, the more so since we have become accustomed to such practices over the years. In all likelihood, in accordance with the new work style, the ministry's personnel will begin by studying restructuring in the local areas, closely analyze available experience and spread it from one VUZ collective to another.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees contain stipulations of great importance to VUZ life, without the implementation of which any discussion on restructuring threatens to remain mere talk. This, however, involves tremendous both subjective and objective difficulties. Thus, there is obvious need to increase strictness which, unquestionably, will lead to higher student dropout. This step is absolutely correct as we shift the emphasis from quantity to quality in specialist training. As the documents stipulate, the teacher will no longer be guided by any other considerations other than the accuracy of the requirements, for student dropout will not automatically lead to any reduction in personnel, as was previously the case. The institutes lack a clear direction in this matter, for until recently the size of the personnel was based on the old principles.

Some difficulties exist also in terms of the problem related to the organization of consultations. Increasing their share and shifting the center of gravity to independent work by the students are necessary features. To begin with, however, considering the limited space at the disposal of most VUZs, there simply is no place where to hold such consultations. Second, where can we find 12 hours weekly for consulting with the teacher? Even if lectures are reduced to the zero level no such time is available. A similar situation also develops in dividing seminars into groups, as stipulated in the documents. This is not an insurmountable difficulty, however. Nonetheless, since difficulties exist they could create a certain amount of skepticism (in other words, the decrees may be very good but can we implement them, and if so when). Such moods must not become prevalent. In this connection, I believe that we must proceed from the fact that the decrees on the higher school are long-term documents and that restructuring itself is a complex process. That is why, obviously, it would be expedient to single out within it several stages in the course of which one mechanism or another would be activated depending on financial possibilities, material facilities, etc. This will introduce the necessary clarity and order which, as we know, are the enemies of skepticism and mistrust.

I hope that the implementation of the ideas stipulated in the decrees will lead to a revision of a number of regulations which I consider formalistic. For example, it is hardly possible to overestimate the importance of attracting to the VUZs scientists from scientific institutions, some of them academic. Their usefulness would be unquestionable and reciprocal. However, the actual involvement of such people, holding double jobs, in teaching is limited merely to contacts with night-school students. Unquestionably, this is important. However, are lectures, seminars and meetings with daytime students any less important? Such students, however, are excluded from such contacts. Why? Because the work of a scientific associate is based on a certain number of hours. Nonetheless, anyone engaged in scientific activities obviously knows that in principle such work should not be regulated by time and place and that spending a certain number of stipulated hours behind one's desk is entirely possible. Creative work accountability is a simple process: a scientific associate either produces or does not. Why should the specific hours of his work be of any importance? In the case of true scientists, the answer is simple: the time of day makes no difference. Therefore, I believe, today, when cooperation between VUZs and scientific research institutes has reached such a high level, it must be allowed to recruit scientific associates, particularly major scientists, to teach classes in VUZs not only evenings but also daytime, providing, naturally, that they meet their planned assignments at their main jobs.

VUZ life has become much more complex but also immeasurably more interesting. The social animation of young people and awakening their civic-mindedness have led students to pay greater attention to social

problems. Today this demands of every social scientist without exception incredibly stressed and truly creative efforts, for which reason we need lectures with a new content and nontraditional approaches and formulations of problems.

Although creativity is an individual process and although no one and nothing can replace individual work, nonetheless social scientists who teach need help. This can be achieved, first of all, by skill-upgrading institutes. To this effect, however, as the "Basic Directions" justifiably emphasize, they must decisively restructure their work. Otherwise the intolerable situation will remain, according to which as a rule teachers will enroll in IPK not willingly will but strictly in accordance with the plans drawn up by their institute.

The second and perhaps even more essential feature is that a teacher grows above all as a result of his scientific research. If there is no scientific research disqualification is inevitable, as I have repeatedly seen. Nonetheless, social scientists, particularly in technical VUZs, have long been looked at as step-children whose scientific activities are not encouraged in the least. That is why I thorough approve the clearly formulated task of organically combining VUZ, academic and sectorial sciences, as stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees. However, I must also express a certain apprehension in this connection: unless this question is not further concretized and codified in the respective Minvuz documents, the social science departments risk to remain petitioners rather than full participants in the coordination of plans and coparticipants in their implementation.

Finally, here is another point which concerns me. In working on experimental courses and changing the correlation between lectures and seminars in favor of the latter, teachers in our department find a conversion to problem-setting basic lectures hindered by the lack of new textbooks. Adding to this the lack of textbooks on prime sources and the limited number of available copies of the works of Marxist-Leninist classics in the institute's reading rooms, not to mention in periodical publications, the students have simply no materials with which to do independent work. For that reason many teachers are opposed to the new method. Naturally, this is also affected by inertia and support of the old forms which made life easier. This may be so, but the role of material facilities must not be underestimated.

Textbooks are needed. I would like to hope that they will be consistent with the spirit of the 27th Congress and the Leninist lessons in truth. I also greatly hope that the authors will have the courage and creative strength not blindly to follow the published curriculums but to go forth, laying the foundations for future programs. We must admit that the current curriculums have not introduced anything essentially new but have only patched and relined old programs.

Such are the difficult problems which arise today. In all likelihood this is natural and even good, for VUZs have entered a period of restructuring and provided with its expanded concept. Wherever stagnation ends and movement begins problems inevitably arise. Their appearance and open discussion is a convincing indicators of the initiated renovation of VUZ life.

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05003

From Extensive-Informational to Intensive-Basic Training

18020001i Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 73-75

[Letter to the editors by Oleg Mikhaylovich Belotserkovskiy, academician, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Design Automation, and Yevgeniy Pavlovich Velikhov, academician, USSR Academy of Sciences vice-president]

[Text] The nature of the "Basic Directions in Restructuring Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the Country," and the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government decrees which concretize them, and which were adopted last spring, is described accurately in the title of this letter. They are of exceptional importance, for they determine the aspect of the specialist who assumes responsibility for the pace of scientific and technical progress, which is the foundation for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

It is pertinent to recall that it was the Great October Revolution that created the prerequisites for the comprehensive and intensive development of domestic higher schools. The various higher education sectors, training cadres for virtually all areas of the national economy and culture, were organized and rapidly gathered strength during the first years of the Soviet system.

Since then university and higher technical training has become basic. Universities (unfortunately, by no means all) provide a broad general scientific training. As a rule, however, they do not fully train their graduates for work under specific conditions. The technical higher schools are oriented toward training specialists for the national economy but, in frequent cases, do not provide a sufficiently broad education.

What kind of sufficiency are we talking about? The scientific and technical revolution drastically accelerated the processes of updating knowledge, the birth of new technologies and continuous technical retooling of the production process. For that reason today the specialist must not only be thorough knowledgeable in his work but also see long-term developments. He must be qualified to solve problems of scientific organization of labor and management under changing circumstances. He

must have high professional mobility and the ability independently to find his way in the vast array of scientific and technical and sociopolitical information. All of this raises particular requirements concerning the system of higher technical schools. How to organize the training process so that as a result, in addition to gaining deep knowledge of his chosen profession, the graduate can develop a broad outlook and high thinking standards?

Bringing university and technical training closer to each other is the path to success. Life itself encourages this trend. For a number of decades there have been VUZes combining the strong features of universities with those of technical schools. They try to base their curriculums on the university style of basic general training, combined with extensive engineering training of students in the latest technological areas. The following Moscow institutes could be listed among such schools: physical-technical, engineering-physics, radio engineering, electronics and automation, electronic technology, and electronic machine building, as well as the Leningrad Technological Institute imeni Lensovet, Novosibirsk University and many others.

In our view, it is precisely VUZes of this type which could be described as technical universities and are a form of higher training which can solve the problems raised by the scientific and technical revolution. It is no accident that soon after the "Basic Directions" and the decrees on the higher school of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers were promulgated a decision was made to organize on the basis of the Moscow Higher Technical School imeni N.E. Bauman a higher educational institution of a new type in which the training of highly skilled specialists will take place in scientific-training complexes with the active participation of the students in scientific research and experimental design.

How, for example, is the training process at the Moscow Physical-Technical Institute organized? It consists of three autonomous cycles. The main task of the first, the general education cycle, is the mastery by the students of basic subjects, which would develop their active and creative thinking. Mathematics, general and theoretical physics, social sciences and a foreign language are studied here on the level of university courses. Great attention is being paid to their applied, their practical side (laboratory work, independent studies, papers, etc.). It is important to emphasize that the institute does not give preference to full courses to the detriment of the ideological and creative aspects of student education. In our view, it is precisely such an approach that separates education from training.

General education courses are followed by a cycle of specialized studies within the individual departments. Such a cycle begins with lecture courses and laboratory work, this time in the area of the chosen field (electronics and radio engineering, general and applied physics,

aerospace physics and space research, etc.). The result is a certain range of education and specialized training. The students become familiar with the methods, skills and accomplishments of different scientific trends.

The third cycle is that of research. Its purpose is to train the students in a specific, a more specific skill. This cycle begins in the laboratories of the institute and essentially takes place at the base enterprises, the design bureaus and scientific research institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the various departments in which third-year students spend one-half of their training time and where they submit their graduation papers. What is important here is that the teaching is done by specialists who actively work in that specific area of science and technology. Involving the student in independent creative scientific or production activity is a necessary prerequisite in the training of a contemporary engineer-researcher and applied scientist. Practical experience indicates that whenever the specialized training of students takes place in close cooperation with scientific research institutes and design bureaus, the professional reorientation of such institutions immediately entails changes in the nature of the knowledge acquired by the students. As a result, a VUZ graduate masters the latest achievements in his area, which drastically shortens the time needed for his adaptation to production activities and eliminates the objective gap between "stable" VUZ curriculums and the level of constant and fast development of science and technology.

Such a division of the training process into three cycles makes their efficient handling possible. It ensures mobility and direction in cadre training and creates prerequisites for the organization of a differentiated training system.

What we mean by a direction in cadre training is direct contacts between the VUZ, the scientific research institute and the production process. The VUZ must have a clear idea of where, when and how many specialists it should assign in any one area. The better it knows the answers to such questions the more efficient will all of its activities become.

The documents adopted by the party and the government offer broad scope for a creative organization of the process of higher school restructuring and offer rich opportunities to the USSR Minvuz and the ministries of education of union republics, faculties and students. The feedback here is also important: we must mold and make use of student public opinion. The work which lies ahead is difficult, for however good the decrees may be, they must be implemented, reorganized in the course of their development, the mastering of acquired and gaining new experience, which is always difficult. What are the difficulties we are looking at now and to what do we wish to draw the attention of our colleagues in the higher schools?

In order for education to be truly fundamental we must, first of all, update the curriculums. Second, we must develop a strong faculty in the general technical departments (essentially with university training) and ensure the enrollment of the most capable young people. Third, the curriculums of basic general education subjects should be most closely and naturally related to the special courses.

Conceptual training is the most important structural component of basic education and communist upbringing of the students. The concepts of students are shaped under the influence of several factors. Let us emphasize the importance of the work of social science departments. Practical experience indicates that training cadres, significantly upgrading the scientific potential and ensuring the connection between lectures and VUZ specialization and the specific domestic political and international situation are equally important in all social disciplines but, particularly, in philosophy and scientific communism.

Another aspect in improving the conceptual training of the students is humanizing the teaching of the natural science and technical subjects. In this connection we see the existence of three aspects which, actually, do not cover the entire problem. First, the lecture courses should reflect problems related to the development of scientific theories. The history of their creation will enable the students to take a look at the creative laboratory of the scientists and more profoundly to understand the nature of scientific achievements. This approach strengthens the educational significance of lectures, for the students become aware, among others, of the priority status of outstanding Soviet scientists and their contribution to world science. Second, it is important for lectures on general technical and applied subjects to consider the social aspects of technical progress. Topics, such as man and technology, society and nature and cybernetics and production, must be included not only in the social science courses but also in teaching the special subjects. Third, it is necessary to prove to the students that basic science, in its appearance and development encounters both special as well as methodological problems. This especially applies to the period of scientific revolutions, when science undergoes a conceptual restructuring and when a number of its laws and principles are revised, which motivates the scientists to discuss the most basic problems of its development, historical and philosophical in particular.

Without discussing the other problems which demand a quick resolution in the course of restructuring the higher schools (and the Physical-Technical Institute itself), let us note, in conclusion, that in the 40 years of its existence the MFTI has had a determining impact on supplying scientific cadres to the USSR Academy of Sciences and a number of departments, including some leading ones. A purposeful training is provided for individual departments and enterprises. Virtually all young specialists are assigned to work in their field. The number of VUZes

which can be classified today as "technical universities" is, unfortunately, small. This makes even more important the role they play. If we handle the existing potential thriftily and economically success in restructuring will be ensured.

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05003

A Scientific Base for the VUZ Pedagogical Process

18020001j Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 75-76

[Letter to the editors by Valentin Yakovlevich Skvirskiy, candidate of pedagogical sciences, docent, Moscow Automobile-Road Institute]

[Text] My experience in a VUZ, including that of teaching the course on "Foundations of Higher School Psychology and Pedagogy" at the department for upgrading skills has convinced me that the quality of teaching is inseparably related to the humanitarian aspect of the professional training of the educator. Unquestionably, knowledge of "one's own" subject and its clear presentation are necessary but insufficient. Here as well we come across a major contradiction. On the one hand, we must take into consideration the "human factor," particularly the laws governing the cognitive activities of the trainee and the nature of the intercourse; on the other, it turns out that most VUZ workers lack the knowledge, skill and ability to handle educational interaction.

The question is the following: Who should equip VUZ teachers with such a system of knowledge and at what point? This question arises in terms not only of those who today engage in educational activities but also those who will take their place tomorrow. It is the latter who are affected by the stipulation in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures to Improve the Training and Utilization of Scientific-Pedagogical and Scientific Cadres," which calls for the study of pedagogy and psychology, and for examinations by postgraduate students and candidates seeking a scientific degree in those subjects. As to those who are already teaching, there are two other ways: take the course "Foundations of Higher School Psychology and Pedagogy" at departments for upgrading skills and self-training.

As a study of the situation indicates, one of the most serious problems in this area is related to the fact that higher school pedagogy as a science is still at its basic stage. In 25 years of its existence it has failed to set sufficiently clear demarcation lines. The development of this area is a matter of time, providing that suitable serious attention is paid to it. Unfortunately, we are

forced to note that for the time being, at least on the part of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, no such attention is being paid.

A voluntary scientific-methodical council on higher school pedagogy was organized more than 25 years ago under the USSR Minvuz. Subsequently, an Institute of Higher School Problems was set up on the basis of the Higher School Information Center, which included a department of theory and method of training. Currently this scientific-methodical council is not functioning and said department, after a number of reorganizations, has been converted into a training department. In addition to everything else, it is in charge of working on problems of continuing education.

This situation is adversely reflected on the practical activities of VUZes and on the quality of education courses taught at skill upgrading departments. It is further worsened by the fact that the higher schools cannot rely on the type of theory of education which is developed within the framework of general education schools: the objectives are quite different and so are the content, methods, means and organizational forms of teaching. There are substantial disparities in the type of students as well. This is not to say that the pedagogy of higher schools, as a science can borrow essentially nothing from the arsenal of general education schools. They each have common and separate features. It is the common features that could be used in VUZ pedagogy.

The following question arises: What area of knowledge would be consistent with the development of general problems of education? The second closely related question is the following: What scientific institution should manage this area of knowledge?

It may appear that answers to such questions should create no difficulty, for there is within the structure of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences a scientific research institute of general pedagogy. However, at least within this institute, a different viewpoint prevails, namely that it should work exclusively on problems of secondary school pedagogy, a viewpoint which is actually being implemented. The result is that there is no organization within the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in charge of work on general problems. Nor does it have any corresponding institution which would deal with problems of higher school pedagogy and nor could such be set up within the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, which is under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Education.

This develops into a grave situation the moment we try to determine what it is that must be done in accordance with the party-government documents on upgrading the educational skill of teachers.

The science of pedagogy cannot stand aside from the elaboration of the concept of a uniform system for continuing education. What type of scientific organization would assume the overall management and coordination of this project? If it is the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, could it continue to ignore the problems of higher school pedagogy?

I believe that these questions require serious organizational decision making.

As the results of a survey of students indicate, by no means do all VUZ teachers feel the need to acquire pedagogical knowledge or realize the need for same. In order to facilitate internal restructuring, we must restructure external conditions and, in particular, upgrade exigency on the part of the administrative authorities of VUZs not only concerning the scientific but also the pedagogical competence of the personnel. We can firmly assert that the "Basic Directions," and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees will create strong prerequisites for activities in this area.

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05003

'Cadre Modules' at the Ural Polytechnic
18020001k Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13,
Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 76-77

[Letter to the editors by Valeriy Mikhaylovich Samuylov, candidate of economic sciences, docent, department of political economy, Ural Polytechnical Institute imeni S.M. Kirov (Sverdlovsk)]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for the Radical Improvement of the Quality of Training and Use of Specialists with Higher Education in the National Economy" emphasizes that this 5-year period we must ensure a conversion to a new type of interaction between higher schools, the production process and science, which calls for the purposeful training of specialists on the basis of contracts between ministries and departments for which the USSR Minvuz trains cadres, and between enterprises and VUZes.

The country's VUZes have acquired a certain amount of experience in training engineers based on enterprise requests. Such experience has also been acquired by the faculty of the Ural Polytechnical Institute imeni S.M. Kirov, which is training students in almost 60 specialties. The target training here is above all for enterprises within the Ural area, with which the institute has had long business relations.

The need for training comprehensive detachments of graduates from our VUZ, which we shall describe as "cadre modules," became apparent in recent years.

The cadre module consists of students from different departments attending the same course. They involve future specialists in solving major technical problems at new plants, shops or sections, such as the installation of robot technology and flexible production and automated design systems. Such a group of specialists could be trained also for enterprises engaged in major reconstruction, modernization or technical retooling.

Thus, one of the machine building enterprises in Sverdlovsk Oblast has asked us to train almost 300 young specialists over the next 5 years, in six departments: physical-technological, radio engineering, machines and machine building, electrical engineering, metallurgy and thermoengineering. This required the immediate restructuring of the training process. On the request of the enterprise the curriculums were changed. For example, practical production training was increased: after their third year, the students are assigned wherever they will work after graduating from the institute. It is here that they take their actual courses and then work on their graduation papers; mandatory lecture courses have been reduced but the number of hours for seminars and for independent work have been increased.

All of this presumes a restructuring and drastic enhancement of training-method work. Thus, in the case of students in the electrical engineering department, who are members of the cadre module, the political economy department has organized business games specifically related to customer problems. A new training aid was produced including an optional lecture course on "Socioeconomic Problems of Acceleration of Scientific and Technical Progress," involving the study of production situations developing at the specific enterprise. The unified party organization of the social science department at the institute has approved the experience of the department of philosophy in administering tests on specific problems, as an important tool in the objective and strict evaluation of student knowledge. Methodical work on the topic of "The 27th CPSU Congress on the Role of the Social Sciences in the Development of Socialist Society" helps the students to understand the role of philosophy in the period of broad democratization of society. The students who participate in the cadre module have undertaken the study of Marxism-Leninism as a consolidated training course.

The customer as well undergoes psychological restructuring. He perfectly realizes that as new automated production facilities are installed he will immediately acquire all the specialists he needs. This will be a virtually ready group of engineers who are well-acquainted with each other and with the problems they will have to solve. The cadre module adapts to life at the enterprise and becomes part of the life of its collective faster. A contract has been drawn up between ministries,

according to which a sectorial laboratory was opened at the Ural Polytechnical Institute and a branch of the department was opened at the enterprise. The customer finances the training of the specialists. Since within a 5-year period a variety of changes may occur in the order, the cadre module is planned as flexible and able efficiently to react to any change.

Also changing is the attitude of the students toward their training. They can see restructuring in action. They directly participate in it, displaying economic concern for the present and an aspiration concerning the future.

It would have been possible to include within the cadre module also specialists from the specific enterprise, who upgraded their skills at the department of production organizers and industrial construction or those who have been retrained at the intersectorial skill upgrading institute, which is being developed on the basis of the Ural Polytechnical Institute, as well as graduates of secondary technical schools and vocational-technical training schools. This requires the development of cooperation among VUZes technical schools and general schools.

Problems of a different kind exist as well. A small plant in Sverdlovsk requested from the institute a cadre module for 1987, consisting of slightly over 30 people. Our graduates were offered immediately leading engineering positions. Over the past decade this enterprise had worked poorly, at a loss. Its new young and energetic director and the party organization secretary reached the conclusion that some of the engineering and technical personnel had to be renovated. However, the RSFSR Minvuz refused to allow assigning institute graduates as requested by the plant.

Clearly, the time has come to give the cadre module a legal status, for so far its development has only been the work of enthusiasts. VUZes should be given greater autonomy in solving problems related to the training of comprehensive detachments of their graduates. This is a needed and promising project which was supported by secretaries of CPSU gorkoms and raykoms in the Ural Economic Rayon, who participated in the roundtable meeting on the role of party organizations in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress last January. The discussion was sponsored by the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the Sverdlovsk Higher Party School. The importance of disseminating the experience gained in the training and assignment of specialists based on the cadre module method was emphasized at last April's republic seminar on "Perfecting the Content and Method for the Dissemination of Scientific and Technical Progress in the Light of the Resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress," sponsored by the RSFSR Znaniye Society in Chelyabinsk.

In our view, this form of target training of specialists is consistent with the interests of restructuring and deserves the serious attention of the practical workers in the higher schools.

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05003

Student Self-Government Reserves

*180200011 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13,
Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) p 78*

[Letter to the editors by Sergey Anatolyevich Belikov,
Komsomol Committee secretary at the Moscow Institute
of Radio Engineering, Electronics and Automation]

[Text] In my view, one of the most important means of
developing self-government is practical support for effi-
cient suggestions submitted by the student collective.
Attention to initiative creates an awareness of the need
for active participation in all areas of VUZ life.

The basic task of the VUZ is the training of highly skilled
specialists. This is possible only with the close interac-
tion among all members of the collective, and all forms
of organization of its life, including student self-govern-
ment, must contribute to the best possible solution of
this problem.

For understandable reasons, one of the most delicate
problems is the participation of students in the manage-
ment and organization of the training process. However,
as the experience of our institute, which is somewhat
short for the time being, indicates, here as well the
proper form can be found. Thus, this year we tried to
hold meetings at graduating departments, with the par-
ticipation of third to fifth-year students, and representa-
tives of the deans, the Komsomol committee and the
method councils of the individual departments. Prob-
lems of the organization of training were discussed. The
exceptional interest of the student body in establishing
ways for restructuring the training process was brought
to light; specific and realistic suggestions were made. The
method council was instructed to take them into consid-
eration in drafting new curriculums and to inform the
collective of the VUZ on the course of the work. For the
time being, this is done only experimentally but has
proved to be quite useful.

I believe that the forms of student participation in the
management of the training process could vary and that
each VUZ should solve for itself the question of their
expediency.

It is equally important to develop and improve the
elements of self-government which already exist as part
of the organization of the extracurricular time of the
students. The development of a collective awareness is
inconceivable without participation in socially signifi-
cant and socially useful projects. It is precisely in the
course of such projects that a feeling of collectivism and
responsibility develops and the exigency of the collective
toward each one of its members increases. This is some-
thing which so far has been lacking in our life.

For example, it is common knowledge that VUZes,
including ours, are still forced to assign students and
teachers "to potatoes," which means work in kolkhozes
and sovkhozes and storing vegetables in the bins of fruit
and vegetable associations. This is extremely trouble-
some and expensive. We have tried to find an acceptable
solution to this problem in such a way that neither the
students would be bothered nor would the rayon be left
without help. We looked around and it turned out that
the volume of agricultural work which the farms we
sponsor asked us to perform could be done by less people
(fewer by 200). The first-year students who were thus
released from such work set up a separate "Agrokon-
veyer-MIREA" detachment; 150 of them worked at the
vegetable base and 50 in the trade system. The initial
results were as follows: the labor productivity of the
members of the student detachment at the vegetable base
increased by a factor of 2.3 compared with other
recruited workers. The institute was able to save 6,000
school man/days for the students and approximately 320
man/days for the institute's associates; sales of vegeta-
bles at the student base exceeded 80,000 rubles. This is
one-fifteenth of the rayon's vegetable sales. Further-
more, the customers were given quality service (the
detachment even had its own printed packaging).

Also quite indicative is the fact that during the operation
of our agricultural conveyer belt the number of associ-
ates of the scientific research institute, design bureau and
rayon industrial enterprises, recruited to work at the
vegetable base, was reduced by an average of 25 percent.
Student labor productivity increased by 50 percent in
farm work in sovkhozes as a result of the reduced size of
their detachments.

For the past 2 years the Magistral MIREA construction
detachment has been working in Gagarinskiy Rayon in
Moscow, where our institute is located. All the money
the detachment earned (totaling more than 9,000 rubles)
was given by the detachment personnel to the rayon's
Children's Home No 22. We consider this an example of
a communist attitude toward labor and a manifestation
of the civic maturity of the student body.

Let me point out that we were able to implement our
suggestions only thanks to the interested and attentive
attitude shown by the institute's leadership and the
rayon's party and Komsomol organizations. The facts
prove that extensive opportunities exist as a result of
student self-government, and that they should be used
more fully.

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05003

Science and Society

*18020001m Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13,
Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 79-89*

[Article by Petr Leonidovich Kapitsa]

[Text] The name of Academician Petr Leonidovich
Kapitsa (1894-1984), he outstanding Soviet physicist,

engineer, science organizer, twice Hero of Socialist Labor, winner of the USSR State Prize and the Nobel Prize for physics, is well known in our country and abroad not only because of his achievements which have enriched world science and technology. This scientist dedicated a great deal of time to scientific publicism, as can be seen from the book "Eksperiment. Teoriya. Praktika. Stati, Vystupleniya" [Experiment. Theory. Practice. Articles, Addresses] which has had several editions, and which includes only part of his writing on such subjects. The editors are offering to the readers a few chapters (abridged) of a manuscript from P.L. Kapitsa's files, dated August-September 1960 (the full text will be published in the collection of his scientific works, which is being prepared for publication by Izdatelstvo Nauka). Although more than a quarter of a century has passed since this was written, the thoughts of the scientist are amazingly relevant to present concerns. We believe that their study will contribute to the more profound interpretation of the problems of organizing scientific research in the natural and social sciences and upgrading their efficiency and ties to life, problems which are so sharply formulated at the present crucial stage in the development of our society. The manuscript was prepared for publication by P. Rubinin.

Science and Competition Between Socialism and Capitalism

Our economists do not clearly formulate the question of the limit of scientific output per capita which, unquestionably, exists and which, in the final account, is a limiting factor in the growth of gross output. The fact that such a limit, caused by sated consumption, exists is based on common sense. Marxism predicted such saturation, i.e., abundance, but considered it real only at a level of labor productivity which will be achieved at the higher stage in the development of mankind, i.e., under communism. The unforeseen major achievements of science and technology which have taken place in recent decades have made it possible to come closer to such saturation even under capitalism.

Today we can legitimately ask the following question: if per capita output has a limit and if this limit can be achieved under both capitalism and socialism, how are the advantages of one of the economic systems over the other manifested? Naturally, the answer is clear: the winner will be the social system which will have a higher labor productivity and in which work would be easier. At that point, in order to satisfy identical population needs, fewer working hours would be required and the people would work under healthier conditions. Inasmuch as labor productivity and conditions are determined by technological improvements which are developed by the scientists, the conclusion is obvious: the winner will be the social system under which the level of scientific work will be the highest.

Naturally, the further growth of gross output can be determined by the appearance of new population requirements. The influence of science on socioeconomic living conditions, which are frequently forgotten,

is manifested in the fact that its achievements provide opportunities for the development of needs. Photography, radio, motion pictures and television were unknown until they were created on the basis of a series of scientific discoveries. The nuclear and pharmaceutical industries are growing rapidly. The industry of synthesized polymers, fibers, plastics, and so on, is assuming an extremely broad scale. All of these sectors were the consequence of very recent scientific discoveries which are being applied in a variety of technical developments. We clearly see that today, under our very eyes, new production areas are appearing, such as cybernetic machines, semiconductors, etc. It is quite likely that in the not so distant future cosmonautics will lead to practical achievements, which will also lead to the creation of a vast industry. New accomplishments in biology, particularly if modern genetics lead to developing new species through controlled mutations, which would entirely change the appearance of agriculture. Therefore, on the one hand, science is opening the way to higher labor productivity; on the other, it is opening new areas for the application of human labor.

It is a well-known fact that science also influences the standards of medicine and public education which ensure man's physical and spiritual health, and which are necessary factors for a happy life.

The only possible conclusion from all of this is that *in the competition between capitalism and socialism the social system which will create better conditions for the development of science will emerge as the winner.*

Let us now compare the conditions which ensure the successful development of science, as existing in capitalist and socialist society.

The development of science in a country is essentially determined by three factors: the material base, the organization of scientific work and moral conditions. Let us compare these three factors in the USSR and the United States.

The funds invested in science have been rapidly growing in both countries. Thus, the United States spent on scientific work \$4 billion in 1953 and \$8.2 billion in 1957. Our statistical yearbook for 1958 provides the following data on scientific outlays on page 904: 6.3 billion rubles in 1953 and 13.6 billion in 1957, or an increase of a factor of 2.1 over a 4-year period. This precisely coincides with the increase in the United States. According to such data, the scientific material base in our country is growing at the same pace while in terms of absolute value, outlays are lower based on the fixed rate of exchange of the dollar. The fact that we spent less is entirely understandable for we are still poorer than the United States. The relative growth of our material facilities is no higher than in the United States. This must be considered a temporary phenomenon.

As to the second factor—organizational conditions for the development of science—although they have by no means become fully developed in our country, they have become much better than in the United States. This is explained by the fact that the organization of science in the United States is split among competing companies, thanks to which a great deal of unnecessary parallelism develops, which not only absorbs greater forces and funds but, above all, leads to the poor utilization of scientific cadres.

Finally, the third factor is that of moral conditions. I shall discuss them in greater detail in the next part of this article. At this point I shall merely point out that it is entirely obvious that under socialism they will always be better, for someone works directly for the people and earns the recognition of the people he always feels happier than someone working for an entrepreneur, in which case his work is assessed above all in terms of the profit which he can bring to his boss.

There is no question, therefore, that the socialist structure offers better possibilities for the development of science. This is the main advantage of socialist society, which will ensure its victory in its competition against capitalism.

In making a comparison between the two social structures, we could imagine two organisms with an identical physical development, living under approximately identical conditions but having different brain functions. Naturally, given the same physical structure the future will belong to the organism with a more developed brain, for in the evolutionary development of the world it was the human species that conquered nature.

Socialism and communism are the social structures which, better than any previous structure, will ensure the development of man's intellectual creative activity in art and science, for which reason the future will belong to them.

Conditions for the Development of the Natural Sciences

Having proved that the advantage of the socialist organization of society compared to the capitalist will be based on the achievements of science, the creation of the most favorable conditions possible for the growth of science is the most important task in state building and demands great attention. The better we ensure the development of science the more clearly and faster the advantages of the socialist social system will become apparent.

Any creative area in human activities, which determines the cultural growth of the society, including science, develops the more successfully the broader the segment of society on which it relies. Neither science nor art can develop if only an insignificant percentage of "select people," alienated from life, are interested in them. That is why the study of the conditions for the favorable

development of science must not be limited to a discussion of the organization of the work in the respective scientific institutions. We must always take into consideration the link between scientific work and life and practical activities (cadres, propaganda, and application of scientific achievements).

What grounds for the establishment of this relationship exist today in our country and in the leading capitalist countries? We can easily prove that the grounds in our country are significantly more favorable. However, we pay little attention to this aspect of our life, for we consider it self-evident.... The interest shown by our population in science, art and literature is so much greater than in the capitalist countries, as to be striking and is usually noted by many foreigners who visit our country. The question is the following: what has triggered in our country a greater interest shown by the population in science and art compared to that in the United States? The explanation is easy. It is related to the very essence of the two different social systems. In the capitalist system, as a result of class contradictions, the state apparatus must always be concerned with maintaining a politically stable social system. As we know, this requires keeping the sociopolitical awareness of the masses on a primitive level. In our country there are no class contradictions. Politically we are completely stable and the successful growth of our socialist culture requires the greatest possible development of sociopolitical consciousness. To this effect we must enhance the cultural standards of the population, for this is the main factor which determines the high pace of development of our society....

The activities of the scientist, as those of the writer or painter, are creative. The conditions for such activities are radically different from those which must be applied in the production process. Whereas today the ideal in production is considered to be a technological process in which everything has become so regulated that all that is demanded of the worker is accuracy and assiduity, in the creative process everything is precisely determined by the individual qualities of the worker, for which reason the choice of cadres is of decisive importance in the successful development of science.

Unquestionably, with a good foundation, such as a population raised in the spirit of a healthy need for knowledge, one could develop organizational forms needed for the blossoming of science. However, we must not fear to admit that today a noticeable lag exists in a number of areas of scientific activities in our country. In order to determine the reasons for our lag and the conditions under which the creative work of the scientist can develop most successfully, let us consider the example of a well-known scientific discovery and trace the way it was achieved and put to practical use.

The tremendous importance of penicillin to mankind is obvious, for along with other antibiotics today it has virtually eliminated mortality from all the most dangerous bacteriological diseases.

In the 19th century the scientists had already discovered that most diseases are caused by the poisoning of the body with toxins released by bacteria which contaminate the human body. The discovery of the bacteria and the understanding of their influence on man indicated the trend in seeking means for the struggle against contagious diseases. In addition to preventive measures, naturally, the most powerful means should have been the type of medicinal substance which would be harmless to man but would kill the bacteria. For many years hundreds of scientists sought such a drug. A large number of substances which killed bacteria were found but in all cases, to one extent or another, they also harmed man. The problem seemed insoluble.

In 1929 Fleming discovered that bacteria could not survive in the vicinity of a moldy spot in a nutritive environment in which staphylococci were cultivated. Subsequent experimentation proved that the fungi of this mold release a substance which, even in very small concentrations, could kill the staphylococci. This observation did not seem to him all that important, for such an influence of mold has already been mentioned in publications (it was even known that witch doctors had treated wounds with moldy soil. Obviously, this was a means which physicians rejected). Fleming was specifically looking for the type of drug which, while killing bacteria, would be harmless to man. He worked on the basis of an entirely definite plan which did not include the study of the effect of mold and the observation he had made did not alter the course of his work.

Some 10 years passed in unsuccessful research until the decision to change its course was made in 1939. He began by considering the extent to which the substance released by the mold and which had been so fatal to bacteria was toxic. To this effect, he had to extract and purify it and test it on a living organism, first on mice and then on people. It was at this point that the greatest medical discovery of the century was made. The substance, which was named "penicillin," proved to be totally nontoxic to the organism of mice or men, but exceptionally fatal to a number of most harmful bacteria. Subsequent to this discovery the nature of scientific work changed drastically. The scientists no longer set themselves a research task: what was needed was to put to practical use the obtained results. Means for the production and preservation of the most efficiently acting forms of penicillin had to be found; detailed studies had to be made on the way they behaved in the body, the most suitable doses to be applied, etc. Gradually, such work involved hundreds and thousands of engineers, designers, physicians, chemists and others. Other fungi molds began to be studied, taking penicillin as an example and thus another entire series of new antibiotics was developed. Finally, a major pharmaceutical industry appeared and a new area of medicine developed. As a result, the average life span increased throughout the globe and infant mortality declined.

I described the history of the discovery of antibiotics in such detail in order clearly to trace all stages of scientific research. Let us consider them in sequence.

It becomes immediately apparent that Fleming's research could have developed only on the basis of contemporary bacteriology and toxicology. Any scientific study, whether pursuing practical or purely cognitive objectives, should be based on the scientific knowledge of the fundamental laws of nature. It is obvious that the successful development of research should also involve the study of the basic laws of nature, which is done for strictly cognitive purposes. In the past, such work was described as "purely scientific." Today this term has been abandoned, for it somehow implies that practice pollutes science. It was followed by the expression "big science." However, this too was criticized, for it implied that practical scientific work is one of lesser importance. The most apt term is that of "basic science," for it is on the basis of such science that both research and applied work take place. Understandably, it is only when basic science in the country is conducted on a high level that both research and applied scientific work can develop successfully and independently. The main purpose of basic science is cognitive, for which reason its results are of no direct practical significance. However, since neither research nor applied science can develop without basic science, its role is exceptionally great. Any research without a scientific base is conducted by trial and error. This rather expensive and underproductive method should be used only in cases of extreme necessity.

The development of basic science must inevitably precede research. The latter begins by determining the objective which, naturally, comes from the requirements of reality. Thus, in the case I described, the objective was to find a medicine which would have specific healing properties. The path followed in such research is determined by the basic sciences. In this case, this included bacteriology, human physiology, toxicology, and others. The research stage lasts until the time of discovery, at which point the stage of application begins. The first may be compared to discovering new ore or mineral deposits and the second to organizing the development of the discovered minerals. Before finding a deposit, the geologist frequently must do a great deal of work without any results.

In the experience I described, many hundreds of scientists in addition to Fleming and together with him, sought a medicinal compound which would be toxic to bacteria but harmless to man. A tremendous amount of work was done. Hundreds of thousands of mice, rabbits and dogs were sacrificed for this purpose. Let us take as an example the research conducted by P. Erlich. He sought a drug based on arsenic in the treatment of syphilis, which would kill the spirochete but be harmless to man. The discovered preparation was named by Erlich "606," to note that previously he had had to synthesize and test on animals 605 unsuitable drugs. This involved many years of work by a very large laboratory. From the viewpoint of ordinary output, 605

out of the 606 tests were "rejects," or 99.83 percent. A similar example was the scientific research to develop a preparation against bacteria, which was a loss until antibiotics were discovered, for today such efforts are of no practical value. Naturally, this is not to say that they had been wasted, for without them the discovery of penicillin would have been impossible, in the same way that we cannot consider wasted all experimental drillings which yield no oil, for without them we would be unable to find an oil-bearing stratum. Any major scientific discovery helps to recover the entire cost of development of basic science and research.

This example clearly shows that scientific work can be classified into three main areas: basic, research and applied.

The study of the laws of nature is usually closely related to research, for as a rule such work is done by the same establishments and, usually, by the same scientists. The reason is that the latter, although they may not yield practical results, frequently lead to a more profound understanding of the nature of phenomena and move basic science forward. We must always remember in assessing and developing organizational measures that the level of scientific development is determined by the extent of development of basic science and intensive research.

The main shortcoming in the organization of scientific work in our country is precisely the fact that we have still not created the most favorable conditions for the development of basic science and research. This is manifested in the fact that the majority of scientific discoveries in the areas of physics, chemistry, biology and medicine and new technological trends are made abroad. Even when they are made in our country we are unable to appreciate them, as was the case with radar, semiconductors, radiogenetics and many others.

What is lacking in the development of basic science and scientific research?

The successful development of these areas of science is possible when most gifted people engage in such work with great enthusiasm. Indeed, Erlich had to display a great amount of purposeful willpower not to give up after 605 failures and thus, finally, to discover his famous preparation. Clearly, such was also Fleming's case. Persistence, purposefulness and great industriousness, accompanied by outstanding creative thinking, are mandatory qualities of a scientist and the extent of such qualities should be consistent with the scale and difficulty of the task.

The successful development of basic and other scientific research requires the creation of conditions which would draw the best scientific forces. This requires not only adequate funds but, above all, a suitable spiritual environment. Today scientific activities are usually rated narrowly, on the basis of practical results. Naturally, this

does not contribute to attracting gifted scientists to work in basic science. The result is that in solving applied problems with the same amount of efforts an work not only better material facilities become possible but also greater social recognition is earned. It is mainly because of such a narrow practical approach which we have adopted in assessing scientific achievements that basic science is not on the necessary level....

In order to create favorable conditions for the development of basic science and research the scientist should not be assigned the task of ensuring the practical utilization of his discovery. The fact that in our country it is usually the same scientist who is asked to do research and to ensure its practical utilization is as stupid and harmful as harnessing a race horse to a cart. Such an error is still being made by our zealous officials, who are always trying to assign a practical application task to the author of a discovery. It would be difficult to imagine a more harmful practice in the development of major creative efforts.

The question is the following: how to direct, assess and control basic science and research if there are no practical results? To this day the bureaucratic apparatus which, essentially, cannot operate without specific accountability data, quantitative indicators, and so on, has been unable to find an answer. Our officials, even the best among them, always try in scientific management, and for any scientific institution, to set an assignment in order to make it mandatory to the scientist to obtain a given result within a certain period of time. Such a harness is not only unnecessary but simply harmful in scientific research and in the development of basic science. Obviously, the time has now come to free not only science from such petty official supervision but all creative work in art as well.

The scientific public itself is the only one which is able to understand, direct, encourage and appreciate basic science and research work. It is only by putting basic science and research under the control of public organizations, such as the Academy of Sciences, that a normal and healthy development can be ensured. However, in order to accomplish this we must relieve our Academy of Sciences from applied tasks.

All of this means that the steps taken to develop basic science and research must be such as to free it from the petty supervision of bureaucratic authorities and applied tasks, and give independent public opinion the right to assess the importance and significance of research.

As to scientific work on applied subjects, both now and in the future this area will absorb the largest number of our scientific cadres and most of the funds spent by the country for scientific purposes. The basic organizational principles for the development of applied science are well known: avoidance of duplication wherever it is unnecessary. We must ensure the proper distribution of scientific forces and maintain close ties with production.

The organization needed for the implementation of such principles can be efficient only if scientific achievements are made available to the entire industry. For the time being, we have not learned how to make full use of the favorable opportunities offered by the socialist system for the development of applied science. However, this is a temporary phenomenon as is the fact that the funds allocated in our country for scientific work and material facilities are inconsistent with our needs; they are at least 3 to 4 time lesser than in the United States. Nonetheless, a healthy development is taking place in our country although its pace could and should be substantially accelerated.

Conditions for the Development of the Social Sciences

It is universally acknowledged that the contemporary development of the social sciences has fallen greatly behind the requirements of life not only in the capitalist countries but at home as well. The lag in the social sciences in a socialist country conflicts with the Marxist theory according to which the development of the science of society should follow the development of the social forms. It is not only the development of capitalism over the past 40 years but also the experience acquired in building our socialist state that should provide a huge amount of data for identifying the new laws governing the evolution of society and for substantiating the way of its further development. Since unquestionably our country has the most advanced social structure, our social science should be the most advanced. However, such is not the case. The radical problems of the influence which the tremendous achievements of science and technology of late have had on the social structure in the capitalist countries and the possibility of an armed conflict on a global scale have been left in our country without a completed creative study. At best the scientific approach to such phenomena of contemporary life is reduced to efforts to squeeze them within the formulas created by the Marxist classics.

Naturally, turning Marxist science into to a Procrustean bed clashes with the spirit and meaning of Marxism. The situation of the social sciences, as it has developed in our country, is obviously deleterious to us; since such a delay in their development has existed for the past few decades, it must have its own profound reasons which can be eliminated only if we understand their nature. I shall try to accomplish this with the necessary directness which is needed in this case.

Let us begin our analysis with a description of the process of scientific work itself.

If natural or social sciences are developing on a materialistic basis they must include the following work processes: first, a summation of empirical observations; second, the sharing of this experience with society; third, its practical application in guiding the cultural growth of society in the right channel. In order to discover the laws

governing the development of the social structure and the national economy, and to determine the principles on the basis of which state, legislative, economic, management and cultural institutions function in the country, the social scientists must borrow their material from reality....

Social science projects cover the same stages as the studies in the field of the natural sciences about which I spoke. Here as well we have basic science, most of which has been developed by Marxism, studies and scientific research of a practical nature in order to put to use the principles which have been found in the structuring and functioning of social organizations. However, both the technology and method of scientific work, to the extent to which they are related to the study of society are, naturally, different. The basic sciences study and sum up the historical experience of social development.

As is the case with the natural sciences, research has a specific practical target and is inevitably based on the study of contemporary social processes. For example, Marx set himself the task of finding the most efficient methods for waging the class struggle in the capitalist society of his time and reached the conclusion that the only proper way of converting to a classless society is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin made extensive scientific studies of all the specific conditions needed for the practical implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the results of which were extensively used in our country in building socialism. From the very beginning we concentrated on the creation of a heavy and power industry and today we are accurately setting as our target the enhancement of labor productivity and the concentration of our efforts on the development of mechanization and automation. However, in the development of basic research and the search for new ways of social development in our country matters are obviously unsatisfactory. Social science continues to ignore the tremendous influence which the achievements of science and technology have on the social structure.

Today our social science must engage in even more extensive research related to finding a proper, a scientifically substantiated way of transition from socialism to communism. Like Marx, Lenin pointed out that it makes no sense to engage in the detailed study of such problems until the first stage of communism—socialism—has been attained, for it is only on the basis of an already established socialist state that the scientific study of ways of building communism can be undertaken. This time is already approaching. It is timely to raise the question of the interconnection between man and society under communism. This is what must be answered scientifically already now, for usually the role of individuality under communism is underestimated. One of the usual rehashes abroad, directed against the development of our social structure, is that under communism we will live in some kind of society of ants in which individual differences among people will not exist. Naturally, all this is slanderous, for the first part of the basic principle

of the communist society, "from each according to his capabilities," obviously takes into consideration the fact that people have different capabilities and different individual qualities. They must serve society in such a way that to the extent of the possible their individual capabilities can be put to better use, in exchange for which everyone will receive "according to his needs." Already now, with the contemporary achievements of science and technology, even in a capitalist society suitable labor productivity must be achieved in order fully to satisfy the material needs of every person. To promote the development of man's spiritual needs and individual qualities is much more important and more difficult.

The basic distinction between the material and spiritual needs of man is that material needs can be satisfied whereas spiritual needs have no limit.

We already proved that capitalist society tries to educate the person in such a way that his spiritual needs remain on a primitive level. Under socialism, conversely, already now everything possible is being done to develop the individual qualities of man and thus to increase his spiritual demands. In a capitalist society, thanks to the achievements of science and technology, the material needs of man can be satisfied; spiritual needs, however, can be satisfied only in a communist society. All of this, naturally, is simply derived from the basic concepts formulated by Marx and Lenin, concepts on which the communist society rests. Our scientists, however, must engage in extensive creative research in their study of the form taken by the most favorable conditions within which, under communism, man will develop most adequately his individual qualities. Unquestionably, this is a most serious scientific task which involves problems of education, family, sharing of experience, etc. The question is the following: what has prevented our scientists so far from dealing with such interesting and important scientific questions? Naturally, unlike the case of the natural sciences, the social sciences do not need an expensive material base, for which reason the question here is only one of moral conditions. We must directly point out that the situation which is developing in our country does not favor the type of daring and independent thinking which is necessary for such creative work....

How should scientific work develop in our country at the present time?

I already pointed out that the main processes in basic science and research involve searching and that so far no proper solution to this problem has been found; a great many errors are being made and much unnecessary work is being done. This applies to the social sciences as well. Before our revolution, other than the leading lights of Marxism, many scientists such as Kautskiy, Plekhanov and many others had sought the laws and ways of building a socialist society. Let us remember that even giants of the human mind, such as Marx and Lenin,

could not have worked successfully had they been alone, without a large number of scientists who surrounded them and whose names have now been forgotten. History proves that successful and accurate scientific work is inevitably paralleled by errors. This precisely is the law of dialectics of creative work: what is successful and accurate cannot develop without what is unsuccessful and wrong. Therefore, discussions and polemics, in the course of which there is a struggle among scientific conclusions in which the accurate one wins, are entirely necessary elements of scientific creativity. Let us recall that there is virtually no work by Marx, Engels and Lenin which was not structured on a polemical base. The intensiveness in the development of the social sciences is determined by the sharpness of polemics. The absence of polemics among our sociological scientists is the unquestionable objective indicator of the stagnation in our social sciences.

Naturally, in order to make the polemic method of scientific development possible, we must remove the blinds and abandon dogmatism. We must initiate a scientific search for ways of developing contemporary society on the basis of the changes which are occurring within it.... Naturally, this will entail a great deal of errors and stupidities, which may appear quite frightening and disturbing to our old dogmatism, which has become accustomed to tranquillity. However, this entails no danger whatsoever. The socialist system is today so strong that any return to capitalism is absolutely inconceivable. It is easy to see that only the way from capitalism to socialism and not the other way around can exist in the development of human society. No real threat exists concerning the restoration of capitalism in our country. The lack of development of the social sciences is a much more serious threat to our future. Today this is greatly harming us, for in solving a number of practical problems in building socialism, instead of seeking a solution on a scientific basis we look for it through primitive empiricism, making a great number of entirely preventable errors. This does not ensure us with the highest possible rates of social growth. Another great harm caused by the lag in the social sciences is the loss of our reputation as a leading and advanced society.

The conditions needed for the successful development of social sciences in our country include not only the need formally to guarantee a "freedom of error" (the restraints imposed upon it have already been considerably lifted in recent years), but also the need to create a favorable moral atmosphere for discussions and debates. The attitude of the society toward science could restrict its development much more than any state censorship. The point is that a scientist dealing with a social science in our country is frequently engaged also in governmental or social work. It is entirely understandable that a social leader must organize the people and make them interested in their work, and believe in the success of their undertakings. It is natural, therefore, that he will always act as a propagandist. This demands an emotional approach to the work. That is why, particularly at

the initial period of building socialism, the custom developed in our country to label everything as good, progressive, poor, backward, and so on, labels which characterize our emotional attitude. Naturally, such an emotional-subjective approach hinders scientific research, for the laws of development of human society, like those of nature, can be neither bad nor good. They can even not be wrong, for at that point they are no longer laws. It is entirely clear to us that we cannot consider the basic law of physics—the law of preservation of energy—bad although it prevents us from inventing a perpetual motion machine which would be of great use to the people. The propagandist actually describes the slave-owning and feudal stages of development as bad and tries to develop an antipathetic attitude toward them. Nonetheless, looked at scientifically they are inevitable stages in social development. The disappearance of a social system, which is replaced by another, is the consequence of the dialectical law of development of society. Science studies the sequence with which social systems replace each other and the social processes which lead to changes in systems. However, to the scientist any social system is only a necessary phase in the development of human society. An emotional label cannot be a characteristic of a social structure, for such a feature is defined only by the historical period in the course of which the social struggle has taken place....

The reason I have discussed such perhaps somewhat trivial problems is that few people in our country understand the significance and need for an objective assessment of processes related to scientific quest. As I pointed out here, as in any other type of research, errors are inevitable and there are frequent deviations from the right way. Nonetheless, everything that is new is initially and usually considered erroneous. If our attitude toward this lacks calm and well-wishing criticism, this immediately introduces an emotional element. We begin to ascribe to the scientist a variety of stupid labels (which are abundant in our vocabulary). All of this could easily frighten people, particularly the young and the beginners, and deprive them of all enthusiasm for scientific research. For the time being the necessary objective attitude toward social sciences does not exist in our country and we must develop in our public a sympathetic attitude and tolerance toward scientists who have erred. This, however, is a necessary moral prerequisite for the successful development of our social science.

We reach the conclusion, therefore, that in order to ensure the development of the social sciences, we must allow freedom for research. We must teach scientists not to be afraid of errors. The organizational steps taken for the development of basic and applied social science research should be approximately similar to those used in the natural sciences. We must isolate science from the influence of the administrative apparatus and enhance the participation of the public in its organization. Although this prescription applies to the other areas of knowledge as well, here it is more difficult to implement, for the umbilical cord which links the social sciences to

the administrative apparatus is stronger and cutting it off is much more difficult. Naturally, a stagnation of the social sciences in a socialist state can be only a temporary phenomenon. The emancipation of science is already beginning to take place and a change toward a more daring scientific search is already noticeable. This is particularly strongly felt among young people, who are precisely the ones who will develop the future science of communism. It will be difficult for our honorable scientists to exceed the framework within which they have become accustomed to live in recent decades peacefully, without arguments and quarrels. Unquestionably, our creative research and basic studies in the social sciences will be revived and within one or two decades they will take the lead in world science as they should in the country which has the leading social system.

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'Das Kapital' and Our Time

18020001n Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 90-100

[Article by Kurt Hager, SED Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. Article based on a paper read at the SED Central Committee Higher Party School]

[Text] "Das Kapital," the first volume of which came out 120 years ago, is Karl Marx's main economic work. It contains a comprehensive analysis of the appearance and establishment of the capitalist socioeconomic system as well as a scientifically substantiated forecast of its inevitable collapse.

Today, as we express our tremendous gratitude to Marx for his scientific exploit, we are developing his doctrine and defending it from the attacks of our ideological opponents and creatively applying it in the course of the class struggle waged for the sake of the further strengthening of socialism and peace.

"Das Kapital" is subtitled "A Critique of Political Economy." The historical merit of K. Marx cannot be suitably appreciated if we ignore the fact that the development of a political economy of the working class presumes a profound critical clash with bourgeois political economy.

Based on a critical reworking and reinterpretation of the conclusions contained within bourgeois political economy, and with the help of tremendous empirical data related, above all, to England's economic development, Marx set himself the task of proving that "today's society is not a monolithic crystal but an organism which is capable of change and is in a constant state of change" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 11. Subsequent references to the works of Marx and Engels will indicate volume and page only). He tried to discover

the "economic law of the dynamics of contemporary society" (ibid, p 10) in order to be able thereby to arm the working class with an efficient weapon in the class struggle against exploitation and oppression.

"Das Kapital" substantiated the political economy of the working class and to this day remains its handbook. Marx noted with satisfaction that the speed of "the understanding with which 'Das Kapital' was met among the wide circles of the German working class is the best reward for my effort" (ibid, p 13). We can state with full justification that scientific socialism was initially introduced into the proletarian movement essentially through works such as the "Communist Party Manifesto" and "Das Kapital," in which the historical mission of the working class was irrefutably proved on a broad scale. V.I. Lenin wrote that "the inevitability of the transformation of a capitalist into a socialist society was derived by Marx entirely and exclusively from the economic law governing the dynamics of contemporary society" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 26, p 73).

"Das Kapital" is an arsenal of weapons in the struggle for freedom waged by the working class which, as it liberates itself also liberates all mankind. Today there is no corner on earth in which this work is unknown. In the GDR alone the first volume of "Das Kapital" has been published in nearly one million copies. Many generations of revolutionaries have been raised on it.

From a utopia socialism became a science thanks to two discoveries: the materialistic understanding of history, which was jointly developed by Marx and Engels, and the theory of added value, developed by Marx. They blasted the bourgeois way of thinking and made the class positions of the workers impregnable in both theory and practice.

The anatomy and internal mechanisms of the dynamics of the capitalist social system were brought to life for the first time in "Das Kapital." This was possible only on the basis of a materialistic understanding of history, which meant that the means of production, as the combination of production forces with production relations, fully defines the social, political and spiritual processes of life.

The history of the appearance of capitalism offers a clear picture of the manner in which this final exploiting system suppresses all that is human in man. The alienation of the workers from labor conditions means the conversion of social means of production into capital and the toiling masses into hired labor or, as Marx wrote, "into free 'working poor,'... an amazing product of contemporary history." "If money," Marx goes on to say, quoting Augier, "comes into this world with a blood mark on one cheek, newborn capital leeks blood and filth from all of its pores, from head to heels" (vol 23, p 770).

In the study of added value, K. Marx exhaustively explained the nature of the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists, who appropriate the results of added labor, over and above what is necessary for the reproduction of the manpower. This marked the strictly scientific identification of the deep roots of the irreconcilable class contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between labor and capital. Marx's theory of added value proves that the labor of hired workers is the source of enrichment of the capitalist class. At the same time, it exposes the hypocritical nature of the claim of equality and harmony between the interests of the workers and the capitalists and leads the masses in the struggle against exploitation.

It was V.I. Lenin who achieved a particularly great deal in protecting the great legacy of K. Marx and F. Engels from all kinds of attacks and for the creative application of their doctrine and its enrichment with new knowledge. "His theoretical thinking, moral example and results of gigantic activities," reads the CPSU Central Committee address to the Soviet people on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, "will live through the centuries."

Lenin saw in the creative application and further development of Marx's doctrine the key to the theoretical and practical solution of arising problems and invariably struggled against efforts to present Marx's and Engels' doctrine as dead and frozen dogma, as was being done by the revisionists within the German labor movement. He said: "We do not consider in the least Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; to the contrary, we are convinced that it has laid nothing but a cornerstone of the science which socialists must promote further, in all directions, if they do not wish to fall behind life" (op cit, vol 4, p 184).

Life itself demanded the furthering of this doctrine, for capitalism had entered its imperialist stage by the end of the past century. The class struggle was assuming new forms. The question of replacing the power of the monopoly bourgeoisie with that of the working class assumed decisive significance. The need for revolutionary strategy and revolutionary tactic, consistent with the new historical conditions, arose within the proletarian movement.

On the basis of the essential features of capitalism, which had been developed by Marx, Lenin analyzed the economic situation in tsarist Russia and indicated how at that time, step by step, capitalism was being introduced and was growing. Having studied the aggravation of the typical contradictions of the capitalist system and changes in the class structure of the society, Lenin determined the strength on which the working class could rely in its struggle for democracy and socialism. Lenin's work "The Development of Capitalism in Russia" is an outstanding example of the creative application and development of Marx's doctrine, above all in the economic area.

By continuing with the critical analysis of capitalism initiated by Marx, Lenin formulated the theory of imperialism. In his work "Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism," he pointed out that the capitalism of the turn of the 20th century had experienced changes without losing its exploitative nature. To the contrary: "Economically," Lenin wrote, "imperialism... is the high stage of capitalist development, a stage in which the production process has become so extensive and large that free competition is replaced by monopoly. Such is the economic nature of imperialism" (op cit, vol 30, p 93).

In this case Lenin proved that the aspiration of capitalism, which was noted by Marx and Engels in their "Communist Party Manifesto," to spread its rule over the entire world, acquires a new scale at its imperialist stage. The domination of monopoly associations strengthened but the rivalry among imperialist countries and monopoly and financial groups for markets, sources of raw materials and areas of investment of capital expanded as well.

Lenin drew two fundamental conclusions from his analysis: imperialism is the highest and final stage of capitalism and the eve of the proletarian revolution; at this stage as well the capitalist economy and politics obey the law of uneven development. Lenin was able to understand and substantiate the fact that prerequisites for a socialist revolution mature in different countries at a different pace and that the victory of socialism is possible initially in a few countries or in a single separate country.

The conversion from capitalism to socialism on a global scale, consequently, takes place in the course of a lengthy period of class battles. This understanding gave a clear revolutionary perspective to the working class in Russia and other countries. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the subsequent course followed by global history entirely confirmed Lenin's prediction.

Despite all the changes experienced by imperialism in recent decades, it has remained capitalism, i.e., a social system based on the exploitation of man by man. Its main characteristics are entirely valid to this day. The theories of "controlled capitalism," and "social capitalism" have collapsed and so have concepts of the imaginary transformation of this exploiting system into a "post-industrial society" or "society of universal well-being." The hope that the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution would make it possible to correct its faults has vanished. As in the past, the most important means of production remain in the hands of the capitalists, whereas the workers have nothing but their manpower. As in the past, profit remains the decisive motivation, motor and ceiling of capitalist production.

The contemporary scientific and technical revolution is subjecting the capitalist system to its own trials. The latest technologies and multinational economic ties are used in mounting an offensive against the social and democratic rights of the working people, which aggravates the old contradictions within capitalist society and creates new ones. For example, the contradiction is growing between the tremendous opportunities provided by scientific and technical progress in changing living and working conditions, environmental protection, education, health care, and so on, for the better, on the one hand, and the inability of capitalism to utilize these possibilities in the interests of the toiling people, on the other.

Exploitation as well has changed qualitatively: whereas in Marx's time, as supported by numerous examples cited in "Das Kapital," the standard added value was about 100 percent, today, according to estimates, it fluctuates between 200 and 300 percent in the imperialist countries. It is on this basis that the class struggle between labor and capital is legitimately becoming aggravated. In recent years this has been manifested in the increased efforts of the working people to protect their jobs and against curtailing expenditures for social needs and limiting the rights of trade unions.

In our time fear of losing one's job is felt, to one degree or another, by all strata of the employed population. In 1986, there were 31 million officially registered unemployed, including 2.23 million in the FRG, in the 24 developed capitalist countries, members of the OECD. Unemployment is raising steadily. "Therefore," E. Hon-ecker emphasized, "we are dealing with a new phenomenon. The capitalist system will enter its next cyclical phase in the crisis with a substantially higher level of unemployment compared with 1980, for which reason this scourge will strike even more powerfully."

This proves the permanent relevance of the content of the first volume of "Das Kapital," which proves that unemployment is an invariable feature of capitalism. Unlike the past, today unemployment remains high also during phases of market revival and the piece of iron Engels spoke of remains chained to the foot of the worker (see volume 19, p 257). The mass and chronic nature of unemployment has become grounds for the appearance of the so-called "new poor." This stratum which includes part of the working class in the capitalist countries accounted for 15 to 20 percent of the population in the mid-1980s.

The crisis situation is worsened by the arms race with its insane waste of material and financial resources. In 5 years (1981-1986) the Reagan administration alone spent \$1.6 trillion in armaments. As appropriations for armaments have grown, the wages of blue and white collar workers have dropped; expenditures for social

purposes have been reduced and the tax burden on workers' income has increased; the poverty and need of the working people and the instability of economic growth have worsened.

These facts are another confirmation of the conclusion drawn by Marx in "Das Kapital" to the effect that there is no such thing as crisis-free capitalism. The profound reason for crises lies essentially within the contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private form of appropriation of its results. In the pursuit of profit the capitalists accelerate production concentration and increase labor specialization and division. As a result, more than ever before, production forces demand a recognition of their social nature. However, the power of the monopolies, the state and the international concerns continues to keep the production forces within the boundaries of capitalist relations.

The uneven economic and political development of capitalism remains despite the development of the scientific and technical revolution and the creation of multinational corporations. As was noted at the 11th SED Congress, in the words of bourgeois politicians, a "gigantic technological battle" is raging among the big monopolies and the capitalist countries in the three main centers of contemporary imperialism (United States, EEC and Japan). Differences in the growth rates of production forces are what separate monopolies, countries and imperialist states in their rivalry. The correlation of forces among them keeps changing. Major shifts are occurring, for example, in the global exports of commodities on the highest technological level. As late as 1963, with 25 percent of world exports of such commodities, the United States was firmly in a leading position, followed by Great Britain (14 percent) and Japan (4 percent). The picture today is different. In 1985 the U.S. share had dropped to 17.8 percent while that of Japan, conversely, had reached 17.4 percent. The FRG has almost caught up with them (16.8 percent), trailed far behind by Great Britain and France (6.5 percent each).

The U.S. government and monopolies are using all possible instruments to restore their dominating economic position among their foreign competitors. Thus, it is their intention to lure their rivals, strengthen control over them and exploit them technologically with the help of the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Although the prospect of profits is magically attracting to SDI the concerns in Western European countries and Japan, engaged in the production of armaments and space technology, disagreement is increasing in these countries with the U.S. project and justifiable fears have been expressed that participation in the SDI program does not necessarily lead to any technological "partnership" but, conversely, could increase even further their technological dependence on the leading American monopolies. In any case, rivalry and uneven development remain.

Despite all the predictions of bourgeois theoreticians, the working class does not disappear under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. Unquestionably, this revolution entails profound changes in the social structure, particularly in the structure of the working class: the education level and skill of a certain segment of workers increase; the number of highly skilled workers and employees increases as well, and the share of people working in services and management grows. The bourgeois ideologues try to use this to substantiate the concept of the "disappearance" of the working class and its conversion into a new "middle class" or into a mass of nonproletarian toiling strata. At the same time, it is claimed, the revolutionism of the working class and the class struggle disappear.

However, practical experience has proven the erroneousness of such views. The working class has grown both qualitatively and quantitatively. As to its social status, it has not changed: it remains the target of exploitation.

Under capitalism, the use of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and an orientation toward maximal profits require the steady enhancement of the professional standard of hired labor in most sectors, as well as higher wages. "Das Kapital" helps us accurately to evaluate this growth, for it says that if the value of manpower is higher, "it is manifested in higher work quality and materialized, therefore, in equal time segments in relatively higher values" (vol 23, p 209).

The ever-increasing exploitation of precisely this manpower is an essential change triggered by the scientific and technical revolution under capitalist conditions. Its main link is the use of the results of the scientific and technical revolution and of progressive technologies. It is this that increases productivity, lowers outlays and, consequently, increases the average exploitation of live labor. The capitalist use of scientific and technical progress is related to an increased burden assumed by the working people and a growing labor intensiveness. The various types of differentiated regulations of working time and employment combinations, which have become widespread, are nothing but new forms of increased exploitation. Furthermore, the steps taken to ensure the flexible regulation of employment pursue the same political objectives: the disintegration of the working class and the weakening of the trade unions which must lose their role as the collective spokesman for the interests of the working people. In other words, it is a question of undermining the essential social gains of the working class.

All of this confirms the conclusion on the reproduction of capitalist contradictions. It is obvious that the triumph of socialism, which is the only way of solving them, is inevitable in the most developed capitalist countries. The peoples are converting from capitalism to socialism. This is the main substance of our age. There is no force which can "void" the objective laws of social development.

As early as the "Communist Party Manifesto," Marx and Engels formulated the thesis that "the very foundation on the basis of which the bourgeoisie can produce and appropriate products is lost to the bourgeoisie with the development of large-scale industry. It produces above all its own gravediggers. Its doom and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable" (vol 4, p 436). Although at that time this concept was merely a brilliant hypothesis, in "Das Kapital" Marx substantiated profoundly and comprehensively the mission of the working class, "the historical vocation of which is to cause an upturn in the capitalist production method and totally eliminate classes" (vol 23, p 18).

The Great October Socialist Revolution won 50 years after the publication of "Das Kapital." For the first time in history capitalism was overthrown and the building of a new society undertaken. The revolution was made in a place where 45 years prior to that date, in 1872, "Das Kapital," Marx's main work, was translated for the first time. Russian became the first foreign language in which "Das Kapital" began to "talk."

This year, as we celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we pay proper due to the historical accomplishments of the Soviet people who, guided by Lenin's party, transformed the entire world. Such accomplishments include the creation of the first socialist state in the world and its steady strengthening, the revolution in ideology, education and culture, and the victory over German fascism, which was won at the cost of tremendous sacrifices. We shall never forget that it was above all the Soviet people and their great army who liberated mankind from the brown plague. The Soviet Union achieved new successes after the Great Patriotic War in rebuilding the country, the peaceful conquest of space and the reaching of parity in the military-strategic area between socialism and imperialism, which is a decisive prerequisite in safeguarding peace.

The Great October Socialist Revolution enriched the working class and the forces fighting for peace and social progress with tremendous new experience. Its lessons are universal. This was confirmed by the course of the revolutions which were made on different continents. The overall laws governing the implementation of the historical mission of the working class and building socialism have become forever part of the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

The thesis that the working class can win only if it is led by a revolutionary party, which creatively, and taking specific national conditions under consideration, applies the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, was practically tested and confirmed. Furthermore, practical experience itself indicates that the question of power is the main question of the socialist revolution and that its success requires the firm alliance among the working class, the peasantry and the other toiling strata.

The conversion from capitalism to socialism assumed a global scale with the appearance of the world socialist system. The fact that many countries took the path of democracy and socialism was the consequence of World War II and the related weakening of the positions of imperialism, and a result of the anti-fascist and national-liberation movements.

In the last third of the 20th century the strengthening of socialism and of revolutionary forces in the international arena, despite the concentrated imperialist counteroffensive, is becoming the objective content of the dominant historical process. The main motive force of social progress, as Marx, Engels and Lenin predicted and substantiated, remains the working class, which acts under the leadership of its revolutionary party and which has defined the nature of our entire age.

The existence of common laws governing the socialist revolution and the building of socialism does not mean in the least that they are applied in the same manner. The general laws are manifested in specific historical and national conditions and must be implemented only in accordance with them. E. Honecker based his views on Lenin's cautioning against implementing general laws regardless of the country's specific characteristics, when he said at the conference of first secretaries of our party's district committees: "The building of socialism is a continuing process of creative search for the best solutions consistent with national conditions, for which reason they are of great importance even in the international arena."

We cannot fail to see that bourgeois propaganda is trying to exaggerate differences among socialist countries and in the policies of the fraternal parties in order to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and the other members of the community, promote doubts and mistrust in relations among them and thus weaken socialism. Of late bourgeois journalists and television commentators, particularly in the FRG, have been insistently giving us "advice" as to how to "improve" socialism in the GDR. An amazing number of "supporters" of socialism have appeared on West German television, radio and other mass information media. It is even more amazing, however, that these gentlemen promote not reforms or the socialist restructuring of their own country or the "introduction" of socialism in the FRG but instead limit themselves to offering prescriptions to us and to other socialist countries.

Our course was clearly defined in the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress. It consists of invaluable friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; building a developed socialist society through methods consistent with our economic, social and historical conditions; unity between our social and economic policy; steady improvement of socialist democracy; and a policy aimed at the good of the people.

This course not only serves the interests of the people of the GDR but is also a substantial contribution to strengthening the entire community.

Those who claim that our party's policy is frozen and impervious to any change are either blind or evil-minded. In reality, major changes have taken and are taking place in all areas of social life in the GDR. All of them are proof that today, 120 years after the appearance of "Das Kapital," headed by the SED, the GDR is following the path indicated by K. Marx.

The 8th Party Congress is an outstanding example of the creative application of Marx's ideas. It was on the basis of its resolutions that a prompt orientation of the national economy toward production intensification and the organic combination of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism were achieved. The congress unequivocally set concern for the good of the people as the center of activities of the SED and defined as the main task that of upgrading the material and cultural standards of its life by increasing production efficiency and accelerating scientific and technical progress.

To a large extent our policy is founded on the interconnection between production and consumption, which was developed by Marx. In the first draft of "Das Kapital" he had already written that "there is no production without need. However, it is precisely consumption that reproduces need" (vol 12, p 718). The party is promoting unity between economic and social policy, proceeding from the principles of socialism and relying on this Marxist stipulation.

The SED program, which was adopted at the 9th Congress in 1976, stipulates that the building of a developed socialist society "is a historical process of profound political, economic, social, spiritual and cultural changes." Such changes are based on the dynamics of production forces and production relations. Influencing such dynamics systematically, the SED pays great attention to the conclusions drawn by Marx in "Das Kapital," creatively applying the theory of reproduction in the formulation of the party's economic strategy.

K. Marx considered the question of expanded reproduction as follows: it is "extensive if we expand only the area of production; it is intensive if we apply more efficient means of production" (vol 24, p 193). However, efficient means of production are only some of the factors which determine the productive force of labor, which is governed by the "level of development of science and extent of its technological application," as well as the "average level of worker skills," the "social combinations within the production process" and "the scope and efficiency of means of production" (vol 23, p 48).

Our party consistently proceeds from the fact that intensive expanded reproduction is needed by a developed socialist society. The ideas expressed in "Das Kapital"

on the role of science and technology as the main factors of intensification, time-saving, dynamics of live and materialized labor, and economy of constant capital and lowering overall labor outlays per unit of output as a criterion of the growth of its productivity, are finding increasingly broad acceptance. It has become clear that intensification goes through different development stages. Whereas initially growth was based on the economy of live labor per unit of output, the fast development of the scientific and technical revolution has made the economy of materialized labor the decisive source of growth. The growth of output, paralleled by reduced consumption of energy and materials, and a higher rate of increase in labor productivity compared with the capital-labor ratio have become the same type of law that expanded reproduction was in the past. Therefore, with increasing accuracy the party is defining the important criteria and scales of intensification, based on practical experience and using the theoretical baggage found in "Das Kapital."

However, we must daringly follow new paths in the solution of the new problems. One such daring step was the creation of combines under central and district administration. Based on the strength and power of the combines, we were able to make a turn toward extensive intensification, which is of essential significance and which indicates that, under contemporary conditions, led by its party, the working class can cope with even the most complex technical, economic and social problems in the development of large-scale industry.

All of this fully applies to our agriculture as well. At the present time it is a highly efficient production area equipped with modern tools. The party's task of increasing the contribution of agricultural cooperatives and people's estates to the implementation of our main task is consistent with the most vital interests of the cooperated peasantry. The further increase in cooperativization is accompanied by intensification which is today, metaphorically speaking, the testing ground of cooperative farmers who are cooperating with workers and scientists.

Intensification is manifested above all in the growth rates of the national income and labor productivity. Whereas in the 1976-1980 period the average annual growth of the national income was 4.1 percent, between 1980 and 1986 it reached 4.5 percent. Furthermore, more than 90 percent of it was achieved through higher labor productivity. Until the end of the 1970s industrial consumption increased faster than the national income; in the 1980s the lowering of specific industrial consumption became a decisive factor in increasing the national income.

Based on this accomplishment, we must attain the cutting edge of key technologies more energetically. That is why the 11th SED Congress persistently directed science and production toward strong and comprehensive cooperation, which is a decisive and a mandatory condition for the long-term, stable and broad intensification of

output. Today's basic scientific research offers prerequisites for achieving the highest possible scientific and technical results manifested in goods, designs and technologies which can be used for the balance of this century. At the same time, it is important to intensify scientific work itself.

"Das Kapital" is relevant also in the struggle for safeguarding peace. Marx's epoch-making contribution is that he gave mankind a profound interpretation of the dependence of its future on the establishment of a new social system which would exclude wars and the oppression of man by man. The future of mankind is under the sign of peace and socialism.

Marx, Engels and Lenin clearly answered the question of the origins of the threat of war and how to prevent it. They considered the social liberation of the peoples and their freedom from the horrors of war as inseparably interrelated problems which must be solved by the working class in the course of the implementation of its historical mission. At the same time, they were against any war which may break out as a result of the desire of the bourgeoisie for profits and expansion. We are well familiar with Marx's thought that socialism is the type of social system "whose international principle will be peace, for all nations will have the same ruler—labor!" (vol 17, p 5).

Under socialism there are no classes or social groups which can benefit from armaments and wars or threaten other nations. The working class does not need war to fulfill its historical mission. It needs peace and once again peace. That is why the revolutionary workers movement considers safeguarding peace one of its most important tasks. It has always linked the struggle against bourgeois wars with that for social progress.

Today the correlation between war and peace has changed substantially. We are now dealing with the type of situation in which the people are threatened by nuclear catastrophe. Should it break out, it would mean the self-destruction of mankind. Despite the difficulty and tension in the international situation, today the opportunity exists for the elimination of war from human life once and for all and for opening the road to peaceful age through radical nuclear and non-nuclear disarmament. The program for nuclear disarmament by the end of this century, formulated by the Soviet Union, its suggestion concerning radical disarmament in the area of conventional weapons, from the Atlantic to the Urals, the appeal of Warsaw Pact members, our party's initiatives on the creation of a zone free from chemical weapons in Central Europe and the establishment of a nuclear-free corridor are all constructive suggestions, imbued with a feeling of responsibility, which meet with extensive support and are increasingly narrowing the opportunities of imperialist forces to avoid them with

their reservations. The victorious working class in the socialist countries is truly watching out for the common interests of mankind in the most important problems of our time.

The initiative in safeguarding peace, disarmament and limiting armaments is in the reliable hands of the socialist community. As the supreme accomplishment of the class struggle waged by the working class and all working people, socialism is a fundamental prerequisite for social progress.

The Western mass information media, frightened by the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and by the great approval with which they were met by public opinion in Western European countries, has frequently tried to instill in their readers and listeners the idea that actually such proposals are merely a trap, a maneuver aimed at ensuring the superiority of the Warsaw Pact. They palm off on public opinion false accusations concerning the "menace from the East," and the "aggressiveness" of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. That is why the coalition between reason and realism must be promoted more than ever before. A wide peace front must be created against which the plans of the reactionary imperialist circles would crash.

This coalition is no longer an idea but reality. An increasing number of people realize that no alternative to peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems exists in the nuclear age. It rallies different classes and social strata, some of them antagonistic, including the working class and wide bourgeois circles. In no case does the coalition between reason and realism void the class struggle. However, no single class can achieve its historical objectives without basing them on survival, which is the global interest of mankind.

In actively pursuing a policy of dialogue, the leadership of our party and state are doing everything possible to ensure that in the heart of Europe, along the line dividing the two opposite social systems, they could make a considerable contribution to ensuring stability, predictability and trust in international relations. It is impossible to overestimate the significance of the political dialogue in the areas of confrontation between the main forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, which have at their disposal all available mass destruction means.

Everything possible must be done within the framework of the policy of a dialogue so that war is never again started on German soil, for both imperialist world wars were unleashed by the most reactionary wing of German imperialism and militarism. It is precisely such forces that are still aspiring to social revenge in Europe.

Let us emphasize the importance of dialogue between our party and the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The two parties have always borne particular responsibility for the cause of peace in our century. History clearly proves that whenever communists and social democrats

have acted together against reactionary forces they have been successful. This line must be correctly understood. It was bequeathed to us by E. Thaelman, who tried to create a united anti-fascist front to block the advent of fascism to power and war. Our principles, as we know, conflict with the social democratic views on socialism. However, the interests and concepts of communists and social democrats agree on problems of safeguarding peace and return to long-term detente.

The struggle for peace demands above all political stability and the economic dynamics of socialism, as well as a high degree of political and ideological unity and the rallying of the working people around the Marxist-Leninist party. The GDR is a socialist state which has earned a high reputation as the bearer of social progress and a stable factor for peace in Europe. The "eternal people of yesterday" in the FRG dream of turning back historical developments and expanding the domination of German imperialism, at least to the Oder. However, they are wasting their time. Together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, the socialist German state will firmly follow its way illuminated by Marx's doctrine.

Marx's "Das Kapital" has become our truly priceless capital for all times. A single article, however hard one may try, cannot bring to light the entire wealth of content of this work: a tremendous amount of words in many languages have been dedicated to the study of various aspects of this brilliant work.

As long as capitalism exists in the world the sections in "Das Kapital" we discussed will remain relevant. However, the materialistic dialectics which was developed and brilliantly applied by Marx in a specific scientific study, and the methodology he used will be of permanent significance.

"Das Kapital" has firmly entered the history of society and of our time and the history of social science and its foundations. Many of the questions raised by our age cannot be answered satisfactorily without turning to Marx.

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Capitalism in an Interconnected World

18020001o Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 101-110

[Article by Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, academician, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations]

[Text] The most important feature of the contemporary world, as emphasized in the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress, is the growing interconnection and interdependence among all states and peoples, which makes it largely integral.

One of the foundations of this integrality is created by the revolutionary processes. The main impetus for the renovation of the world in the socioeconomic and sociopolitical spheres was provided by the victory of the Great October Revolution and the subsequent steady influence of developing socialism. The scientific and technical revolution became a powerful instrument for progressive change in production forces. All of this indicates that today no serious study of capitalism is possible without looking at it in a global context and without taking into consideration the comprehensive influence of world socialism and the broadening scientific and technical revolution.

Seventy years ago, many of the foreign supporters of the socialist revolution in Russia could hardly imagine the scale of its further impact on the course of universal history. By no means did all of them even think of such problems. However, the international significance of the Great October Revolution and the question of how and in what areas is the revolution in Russia influencing the social changes in the world immediately became the focal point of attention of the Bolshevik Party.

The Leninist approach to the problem was based on the following essential premise: first, the possibility of a victorious socialist revolution in a single country. Second, the concept of socialist revolution as a continuing process of quality changes and transformations in all social areas. Third, the possibility and need for peaceful coexistence between the socialist state and the capitalist countries surrounding it. Under these circumstances, the impact of the revolution in Russia on global development should be achieved through its example, not as a one-time action, i.e., the seizure of power by the working class, but on a steady basis, for the revolutionary process in the country is continuing and intensifying.

The Bolshevik Party also identified the mechanism of this influence. It was not the export of revolution, which was a senseless and, at the same time, a dangerous idea in terms of the real revolutionary cause, but achievements in the creation and improvement of the economic and political systems, the democratization of all aspects of life of socialist society, operating on a higher standard compared with anything which capitalism offers or could offer to the peoples, and which could provide, in Lenin's view, and is indeed providing the strongest possible influence, both direct and indirect, on the entire global community.

However, something which must be pointed out most definitely, our failures and errors and occasional inability to mobilize resources and to make fuller and more efficient use of the advantages of socialism were negatively reflected on global social developments. All of this compromised the socialist model as such, undermined the faith in its ability to ensure democracy and to combine the freedom of the individual with the interests

of society as a whole, to master and apply the result of scientific and technical progress, and to bring about the fast and fullest possible satisfaction of the needs of the people.

However, reality proved that in the final account socialism rejects anything which is organically alien and directly contraindicated to it. This is exemplified by the period subsequent to the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum. As a result, the prestige of our country and of socialism as a whole increased immeasurably. This is confirmed, for example, by surveys of Western public opinion, which also reflect the difficulties which our opponents are beginning to experience in their effort to preserve the full stereotyped concepts of socialism created by anticommunist propaganda. "For the first time in decades the USSR is enjoying in the West greater sympathy than is the United States, drawing great attention to itself as well as the admiration of more people. This is an extremely unusual situation," the American journal *TIME* noted (23 March 1987, p 15).

It is perfectly clear that such a turn in world public opinion is directly related to the dynamism of our development during the post-April period, the ever-broadening openness and the frank admission of our own errors and shortcomings. Nonetheless, history is familiar with examples in which the exposure of negative phenomena was not paralleled by such a strengthening in the prestige of our country as is presently the case. Obviously, it is not a question of the fact that we are not only honestly speaking today about our errors, about what we did not complete and about what we are guilty of, but also the fact that in practical terms, for the first time in many years, there is factual and extensive democratization of society which affects all of its areas, from the economy to superstructural institutions.

Party documents of the last 2 years have repeatedly pointed out that the Soviet Union and socialism as a whole are influencing the course of global events under the conditions of the dialectical compatibility between the division of the world into two opposite sociopolitical systems and the preservation of its unity. This indicates the rejection of the previously unilateral approach, in which the first part of the formula of "unity and struggle of opposites" was if not ignored, at least clearly underestimated by Soviet social scientists in their study of historical developments. However, without a clear understanding of this dialectics we may draw the false conclusion that the past, present and future influence of socialism on the contemporary world is possible only through its confrontation with capitalism. Nonetheless, the "struggle of opposites" in the ideological and political areas, as was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, can be and is organically related not only to cooperation with the members of the capitalist system but also to the increased significance of universal human problems, such as the prevention of thermonuclear war, the ecological and energy problems, the elimination of the backwardness in the third world, and others. In this area the

existence of a global economy plays a special role. The economic laws of socialism are applied in one of its parts, and capitalist economic laws are applied in the other. However, this does not void the question of inter-system and common processes and laws.

The main results of the influence of world socialism on capitalism are manifested in the following:

The break of the imperialist chain in Russia and, subsequently, in a number of other countries, led to the fact that capitalism stopped being a global system;

The historical competition between the two sociopolitical systems noticeably multiplies the conditions required for the existence and the evolution of capitalist society, affecting all of its aspects—economic, social, political and military;

The growth of the economic and political struggle waged by the working people in the capitalist countries limits, to a certain extent, the possibility of exploiting them and makes necessary the search for new forms of exploitation; this is occurring under circumstances in which the reputation and strength of forces favoring social progress are increasing in the capitalist world;

The mechanism of the self development of the capitalist system has experienced changes as a result of the abolition of the colonial and semi-colonial functions of the periphery of the capitalist global economy;

A new situation has been created in which the aggravation of interimperialist contradictions does not inevitably lead to world wars;

The military-strategic parity achieved between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and the growing realization throughout the world of the fact that international problems must be solved by nonmilitary means has narrowed the range of application of power politics by the imperialist countries.

It is precisely under the influence of these circumstances, on the one hand, and of the scientific and technical revolution, on the other, that the basic features which characterize contemporary capitalism have become apparent.

One of them is the remaining ability of the capitalist system, in its highest and final stage, to create prerequisites for an adequately fast development of production forces. In this connection, the growing concentration of production and capital and, on its basis, the establishment of monopolies, is of great importance; in other words, the path followed by capitalism today as well does not lead to the elimination of the competitive struggle. Lenin never accepted the possibility of the establishment of a single supermonopoly, a "single global trust." He always emphasized the role of competition as the most

important aspect of the capitalist mechanism of development of production forces. This Leninist conclusion has been fully confirmed by historical experience.

There are two sides to the monopolies: the first is the one which hinders scientific and technical progress; the second is the one which assists it. Both are present in contemporary capitalism. Furthermore, as of the end of the 1970s, it has been obviously possible to state that the latter is prevalent. The influence of the monopolies in hindering the growth of production forces is weakened as a result of intensified competitiveness within the monopoly sector itself, as confirmed by the biggest wave of absorptions in the entire history of imperialism, which took place between the end of the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s. As a rule, the winners are those who have developed a greater capacity for "absorbing" the results of scientific and technical progress. This is also confirmed by the increased number of "voluntary" mergers, which is largely predetermined by the need to acquire greater strength in order successfully to compete with rivals, particularly foreign. Under these circumstances technical modernization becomes a powerful means of upgrading competitiveness. In the United States the cost of such absorptions rose from \$12 billion in 1970 to almost \$200 billion in 1985. Mergers and absorptions by the biggest companies have increased drastically.

The mobility and constant changes occurring within the monopoly structure of the economy itself also contribute to the fact that the growth of monopolization does not frustrate the development of production forces but in frequent cases even accelerates it. At the same time, increased competition, which parallels and stimulates the monopolization of the economy, undermines the stability of already existing monopoly structures. In 1985 alone, 32 of the 500 biggest U.S. monopolies disappeared as a result of mergers and absorptions (see *FORTUNE*, 28 April 1986, p 136). In Great Britain, in the past 15 years nearly one half of the structure of the 100 largest companies has been renovated. Similar processes are developing in Japan as well. All in all, we can say that bankruptcy which, in the past, was characteristic above all of the peripheral area of monopoly business, is today increasingly shifting towards its center. What is particularly important from the viewpoint of the consistency between the production structure and the current stage of the scientific and technical revolution is that increased competitiveness is paralleled by a certain reorientation in the monopolizing process, which has changed from sectorial to multisectorial. In this case a certain role was also played by the "anti-trust policy" of the bourgeois state.

The leading and currently most developed form of contemporary monopolies—the concern—combines production facilities of a great variety of sectors. Whereas as late as 1945 35 percent of the largest 500 industrial monopolies in the United States operated within a single sector, by the start of the 1970s they accounted for no more than 6 percent. A recent study of

33 large American corporations indicated that in the period between 1950 and 1986 each one of them had extended on an average its activities to 18 new subsectors (see *Harvard Business Review*, No 3, May-June 1987, p 45). A similar situation prevails in the other developed capitalist countries as well.

The substantial resilience of the multisectorial monopolies during crisis situations offers unquestionable competitive advantages. By compensating losses in some markets with profits in other, they have great opportunities for wide market maneuverability based on the utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

The very close interconnection between the process of monopolizing and the aggravating competitive struggle has allowed the concentration of capital and production facilities to penetrate not only the intersectorial level but the multinational area as well. At the present stage this too has weakened the typical monopoly trend of hindering the quality growth of production forces and has accelerated the development of the new stage of the scientific and technical revolution. From their very start the multinational corporations are monopolies with multisectorial output. Being largely the creation of competition within a national framework, multinational monopoly capital (no longer companies but banks as well) tangibly intensify competition on both national and international scale.

Another fact of great importance is that the process of monopolizing does not lead to the elimination or even to any reduction in the scale of the monopolized sector. Meanwhile, medium-sized and small companies are not only able firmly to retain possession of various traditional areas of goods and services but, which is particularly important, can seize positions in new areas directly related to scientific and technical progress. Many so-called "venture" companies, which are set up for the purpose of engaging in applied scientific and technical developments and their practical utilization, operate on an independent basis.

The new features of the monopolizing process in contemporary capitalism have left their mark on capital exports as well. The flow of capital along multinational corporate and bank channels has become prevalent. Increasingly, the activities of multinational corporations and banks are showing trends distinct from "traditional" capital exports. This applies above all to the increasing interweaving among capitals of different national origins.

It is obvious that in connection with the development of a "multinational corporate economy" we can speak of new forms of the economic redivision of the world, which are having a lesser obstructive influence on the growth of production forces compared with the old and traditional ones. Whereas by the turn of the century economic division was manifested almost entirely in

terms of the division of national markets, whereas in the production area it was limited to the acquisition and development of mineral raw material sources, at the present stage priority is increasingly ascribed to precisely the production aspect. The redivision of territorial markets is yielding to the redivision of markets for individual commodities and the struggle of the monopolies for raw material sources is widened by the struggle for taking over all vertical levels in the manufacturing of such commodities, ranging from raw materials and semifinished goods to complementing assemblies.

The profile of contemporary capitalism is becoming clear also as a result of the merging of private capitalist monopolies with the state. It may be considered that this process, which introduces within the capitalist element certain regulatory aspects, is enhanced under the influence of the socialist system, the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the need to develop production forces. Unquestionably, historically such regulating has been encouraged by the need to harness the reserves of capitalism in its confrontation with socialism. It has also been affected by the instructive example of the planned organization of the production process in the socialist economy. Today it is becoming increasingly clear that state control, inherent in state monopoly capitalism, despite its ebbs and tides, which changes organizational forms, nonetheless is a permanent companion to the development of capitalism.

A more "rigid" and detailed control of the production process is taking place on the microlevel of the monopolies themselves.

Naturally, all forms of capitalist regulation have their limits, for they cannot develop into a centralized plan with the domination of private ownership of the means of production. However, it is becoming a real and rather crucial problem of correlating purposeful regulation with uncontrolled development within the framework of contemporary capitalism.

Militarization, which parallels the development of capitalist society today, is one of its essential features. Obviously, the answer to the question of whether it is inherent in capitalism has two sides. Unquestionably, the origin of militarism is related to the process of development of capitalist society. Nonetheless, this conclusion is not the equivalent of the idea that in the present circumstances capitalism cannot exist without militarism.

As we know, the degree of militarization of the economic and political life of different countries is by no means the same throughout the capitalist world. A number of Western European countries with a highly developed state-monopoly capitalism do not encompass within their economic structures a broad militaristic component. Although postwar Japan has displayed a trend

toward increased military preparedness, it has nevertheless proved through its example that militarism is not a mandatory companion of even the accelerated growth of production forces under capitalism.

In our view, all of this raises the question of the possible convertibility of the militarization of the economy even in capitalist countries where it has been developed more extensively. The question of converting military into civilian production is, naturally, by no means simple in this case. However, a sensible and realistic solution can be found. Equally important is the fact that the very exposure to the real possibility of self-destruction, should thermonuclear war break out, cannot fail to intensify in the capitalist countries the growth of domestic political differences on problems of war and peace, which would extend to the ruling circles, and the appearance within them in the future a likely strengthening of the positions of realistically thinking elements and a possible loss of influence of the militaristic stratum in making foreign policy decisions.

The constructive policy of the USSR and the other socialist countries in the area of armament control, the elimination and prevention of international conflicts and the overall stabilization of the international situation, is contributing to the real intensification of these processes.

The changes which have taken place over the past 15 to 20 years in the economic and political structures of contemporary capitalism call for developing more specific ideas on the course of its general crisis.

We know that Marxism-Leninism raised the concept of the general crisis as being a period which began with World War I and the victory of the Great October Revolution, in the course of which a process of expelling capitalism from the historical arena is taking place. The landmarks in the further intensification of the general crisis included the broad emergence of socialism beyond the framework of a single country, the creation of a community of socialist states, the collapse of colonial empires and the transformation of the struggle waged by the working class into a permanent factor influencing the capitalist production system. At the same time, apparently, the interpretation of strictly demarcated and systematically alternating stages in the general crisis, as an automatic advance toward a line which would mark the collapse of the capitalist system, proved to be false. In this case theoretical approaches were based on the underestimating and, in some cases, the total neglect of the possibility of the development of capitalist production relations. Attention was concentrated only on the fact that, in general, they were inconsistent with the nature of production forces which they hindered. The outcome of the nondialectical and metaphysical views on this problem actually was that the most important process of

internal development of production relations, manifested in a certain adaptation of the economic mechanism of contemporary capitalism to the laws of the development of the scientific and technical revolution, was ignored.

Bearing in mind the speed of production socialization under capitalism and the growth of contradictions, which increasingly lead to the self-negation of the capitalist system, as early as 1917 V.I. Lenin wrote: "...today's socialism looks at us through all the windows of contemporary capitalism; socialism is assuming a direct practical appearance as a result of each single major step forward based on this latest capitalism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 34, p 193). This Leninist formulation of the matter is of decisive methodological significance in defining the nature of the overall crisis of the last exploiting system.

The flexibility of production relations which, as a whole, in frequent cases facilitates efforts to solve the "old" capitalist contradictions cannot eliminate the grave social conflict accompanying the development of capitalism. Furthermore, new contradictions are appearing, which can only intensify the "classical" antagonisms within capitalist society.

Thus, although retaining its full significance, the contradiction between labor and capital has changed substantially. The struggle waged by the working class and, in a certain sense, the conversion to large-scale production deprived capitalism of the possibility of earning additional profits at the expense of the absolute impoverishment of the working people. Starting with the victory of the Great October Revolution, which marked the finite nature of capitalism in terms of space and time, the bourgeoisie seriously undertook the formulation of a socioeconomic strategy aimed at the prevention of further revolutionary outbreaks, realizing that mass poverty could become a huge threat to its profits and that the reduced purchasing power of the working people would, in the final account, limit the possibility of the self-growth of capital. Under these circumstances, despite periodical efforts at social revenge, and freezing or even lowering real wages during times of crisis, the absolute amount of wages today are higher than they were 35 years ago by a factor of 1.3 in the United States, 1.8 in Great Britain, 2.4 in France, 2.8 in the FRG and Italy, and 4 in Japan.

However, capitalism does not stop being an essentially exploitive system precisely because it takes steps to protect and develop itself at the expense of the working people. This applies to governmental control as well. This is confirmed, for example, by the growth of unemployment in the capitalist countries, paralleled by restrictive measures aimed at reducing the negative effect of inflation on the reproduction process.

Major changes followed the collapse of colonial empires and the gaining of political independence by a large number of former colonies and dependent countries, in the form and nature of relations between the center and the periphery of the capitalist global economy. The fact that capitalism lost its monopoly on relations with liberated countries, which are relying in their struggle for economic independence on comprehensive ties with the socialist states, has also had an continues to have a positive influence.

As a result, as estimated by Soviet economist A. Elyanov, the share of the developing countries in the GNP in the nonsocialist world increased from 17 percent in 1950 to 23 percent in 1985; in industrial output (extracting, processing and electric power) the corresponding increase was from 13 to 22 percent.

The economic structure of the developing countries has changed; the share of the processing industry in their GNP was 12 percent at the beginning of the 1950s, rising to 21 percent in the mid-1980s. The share of the developing countries in the global capitalist export of industrial commodities doubled over the past 15 years, reaching the 14 percent level (all indicators are in 1980 prices).

However, all of these changes do not indicate that the exploitation of developing by developed capitalist countries has ended. Such exploitation, which has assumed new features, includes the activities of multinational monopoly capital and operations related to monetary indebtedness, as well as a deliberate policy in the area of the international division of labor, described as "technological colonialism."

It is obvious that the overall balance of the dynamics of financial resources between developing and developed capitalist countries along the channels of direct investments, private loans and aid, and taking into consideration the outflow of income in interest and profits could be considered a synthesized manifestation of the scale of exploitation of the developing countries. It was \$0.3 billion in 1983, \$12.5 in 1984 and \$31 in 1985.

The "ecological" exploitation of the developing countries where "dirty" production facilities are being transferred from the former mother countries, is also becoming particularly important.

Naturally, this is a generalized assessment of the subordinate and exploited status of the periphery of the capitalist global economy. There has been a noticeable differentiation among developing countries. Some of them are creating new industrial centers which, in frequent cases, are even beginning to compete with the developed capitalist countries in the production of some commodities. However, the appearance of such centers is paralleled by the identification of the economically most backward and the poorest liberated countries which, metaphorically speaking, are "sinking to the bottom."

As estimated by Soviet statistician B. Bolotin, the "upper group," which consists of 42 developing countries, accounted for 36 percent of the GNP and 14 percent of the third world population in 1950 and, respectively, for 58 and 16 percent in 1985. Within that period the share of the "lower group" of 37 developing countries lost almost one half of its GNP, which dropped from 32 to 16.5 percent while the size of its population remained virtually unchanged (about 60 percent) and its lag behind the developed capitalist countries in terms of per capita GNP increased from a factor of 17 in 1950 to a factor of 37 in 1985.

The "horizontal" development of capitalism and its extension to the periphery of the world capitalist economy is paralleled by a number of new phenomena. We can say, therefore, that the countries with a socialist orientation did not obstruct the spreading of contemporary capitalism. Occasionally, social scientists have underestimated the internal contradictions inherent in the noncapitalist way. Suffice it to note that the countries with a socialist orientation are forced to pursue their course while remaining within the global capitalist economy. Naturally, this greatly hinders their advance toward socialism. Another group of contradictions is related to the fact that the socioeconomic changes in these countries are taking place as a rule under the guidance of petit bourgeois forces which have an essentially inadequate scientific concept of socialism. Subjective errors made by the managements of many such countries has also played a negative role.

This was also affected by the improper choice of criteria according to which the successes achieved by countries with a socialist orientation were frequently rated in terms of the scale of nationalization while failures were attributed to the specific remaining share of the private sector. This approach failed to consider the entire complexity of transformation processes developing within countries with a socialist orientation, largely ignoring the need for the creation of a reliable material foundation for further advance along the path of social progress.

In the final account, we have witnessed the manner in which some countries which, in the 1960s, were clearly aspiring to develop away from capitalism and which even implemented this wish, have abandoned their previous direction by restoring processes which lead to the formative development of capitalism. Nonetheless, all these conclusions and assessments do not weaken in the least the substantiated concept of a socialist orientation as an entirely realistic model of social progress for countries with an as yet undeveloped capitalist structure.

The "horizontal" development of capitalism is triggering a number of new contradictions in it. The increased number of national capitalisms which clash with each other are making the entire system of their interrelationship even more "explosive." The spreading of capitalism itself around the periphery is inseparably related to its

continued exploitation by the developed capitalist center, which preserves the entire gravity and conflicting nature of relations between them.

The study of changes in the correlation of forces between the two systems is of great importance in gaining a realistic assessment of the processes of intensification of the general crisis of capitalism. Here as well we must self-critically point out that this problem remains underdeveloped by our social science. In the majority of cases it is only acknowledged that this correlation is steadily changing in favor of socialism. Unquestionably, this is the main trend. However, this trend does not follow a straight line but makes its way through a variety of conflicts. In this case changes in the ration of forces are not a one-time action but a lengthy process which covers a number of areas—political, economic and military—within which it develops unevenly.

The correlation of forces itself is manifested today in a balance between the two opposite sociopolitical systems. By virtue of a certain development of international relations, of late the military-political aspect has gained priority among the various components of this correlation. The reaching of strategic parity between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO has assumed great importance in world affairs. It also reflects the existence of an objective limit within which the correlation of forces between socialism and capitalism in the military area could change. As we know, the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact members support a lowering of the level of parity while preserving the equal security of the sides based on the principle of sensible adequacy of means of defense.

The qualitative characterization of military-strategic parity, as a condition which excludes the possibility of any country to avoid a retaliatory destructive strike, becomes particularly important under this principle. Generally speaking, we must point out that quality criteria are assuming increasing importance in the approach to the correlation of forces between the two systems, not only in the military but the political and economic areas as well. In itself, quantity does not always adequately reflect the real picture. Thus, appeals to catch up with and outstrip the leading capitalist countries in the production of steel, pig iron, petroleum and so on, were not always enhanced with the study of the new requirements and tasks formulated by the scientific and technical revolution. Could we consider a success the superiority we have reached in steel smelting if the main trend followed by the developed capitalist countries has been one of reducing the metal-intensive-ness of output and the development of less expensive quality metal substitutes? Here is another example: by outstripping any other country in the world in petroleum extraction we have fallen behind in energy conservation technologies and in lowering the power-intensiveness of the national income.

The study of the real correlation between the interests of social development, on the one hand, and class interests, on the other, is of the greatest possible significance in terms of the balance of forces between the two systems at the contemporary stage. V.I. Lenin considered that the interests of the development of society as a whole superseded those of the working class. However, it is not merely a question of a hierarchy of such interests but of their intertwining and interdependence. The high class mission of socialism today is inseparable from the solution of the main universal task of survival, of safeguarding peace on earth. This precisely is the humanist dominant of the increased influence of socialism on the course of the universal-historical process.

In this connection, enriching the concept of peaceful coexistence by giving it a new content is a typical feature. Today, as the CPSU program stipulates, "the CPSU will purposefully contribute to the comprehensive assertion in international relations of the principle of peaceful coexistence as a universally acknowledged and ubiquitously observed standard of intergovernmental relations. It deems inadmissible the extension of ideological contradictions between the two systems to this area."

In the past peaceful coexistence was important only as a model of relations between countries belonging to the two opposite sociopolitical systems. Today it has assumed a broader interpretation, consistent with the demands of the present, which includes a rejection of the use of force in general in relations among all countries, as expressed in the New Delhi declaration.

The future withdrawal of capitalism from the historical arena is unquestionable. However, the path to it is by no means straight and, naturally, the historical dispute between the two systems cannot be solved by military or any other power methods. However complex they may be, international problems can be solved only peacefully, by political means. The Soviet Union considers this approach the only possible one, particularly in the present worldwide conditions of interdependence and interconnection.

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Human Rights: Two Views, Two Approaches
18020001p Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13,
Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 111-118

[Text] One of the most important problems of our time is that of human rights. The existence of two essentially different theoretical concepts and practical approaches to it—the socialist and the bourgeois—made it a long time ago the center of the ideological struggle waged between the two global systems.

The profound changes which are currently taking place in the USSR, the development of processes of democratization and openness, and their interpretation in the West, and the peaceful constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the international arena force us to consider this problem from a new angle. We must assess its contemporary status, consider the currently existing opposite approaches to its solution and trace the evolution and prospects of cooperation between countries in that area.

It was for this purpose that the editors set up a study group consisting of the following: V.A. Kartashking, doctor of juridical sciences, V.B. Lomeyko, special assignments envoy, representative of the USSR to the UN Human Rights Committee, Ye.A. Lukasheva, doctor of juridical sciences, A.P. Movchan, doctor of juridical sciences, professor, member of the UN Human Rights Committee, and K.F. Shakhmuradov, responsible secretary, Soviet Jurists' Association.

Socialism and Human Rights

For the first time in history the Great October Revolution gave a real social meaning to the rights of millions of working people. In the course of the development of socialism these rights acquired an increasingly solid economic, political and legal foundation. The establishment of the socioeconomic and political rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens as a central unit in the development of socialist democracy is an important aspect of the new type of political thinking, and an organic element of the party's strategic course of restructuring and the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of society. What problems exist in our country in this area and how to solve them?

Ye. Lukasheva. Human rights and freedoms are man's social opportunities in the economic, political, sociocultural and private areas of life. The extent and nature of such rights bring to light the essence of the political system. They enable us to assess the level of democracy and the interrelationship between the state and the individual. Historical experience indicates that the struggle for rights and freedoms is inseparable from the revolutionary battles waged by the toiling classes for their liberation.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution created, for the first time in the history of the development of the world, real opportunities for equality among all citizens and proclaimed and ensured the broadest possible range of rights and freedoms. The socialist ownership of the means of production, the elimination of exploitation and true popular rule are necessary prerequisites for the completeness and guaranteed nature of human rights and respect for the honor and dignity of the individual.

The theory and practice of the development of human rights in the USSR caution us from a simplified approach to them. Human rights are not a gift of the

state. They are not a generous gesture on the part of the legislator. Their volume and content are objectively determined by economic and socioclass conditions within the society and the state of democracy and legality. The legislator can grant only those rights for which real economic, political and sociocultural prerequisites have matured.

The socialist approach to the problem of human rights is characterized by realism and scientific substantiation. Each new stage in the development of the Soviet state, the strengthening of its economic foundations, the broadening of democracy, and the growth of culture create objective prerequisites for enriching the content of the rights and freedoms of the individual and for strengthening the guarantees for such rights. The development and broadening of human rights in socialist society refute the bourgeois concepts of their "eternity" and "invariability." The economic and socioclass determination of rights and freedoms, their dynamics and the real foundations for a system of economic, political, sociocultural and juridical guarantees and the equality of all rights and freedoms, and the inseparable connection between rights and obligations are the most important principles governing the socialist concept of human rights, as distinct from the bourgeois one.

The 70-year long development of the Soviet state has proved the existence of rich opportunities available to the socialist system in ensuring human rights. The rights of the individual, respect for his sovereignty, honor and dignity are intrinsic components of socialist democracy. They become particularly significant today, when our society is following the path of new revolutionary change. That is why it is so important to bring to light possibilities of further expanding the social opportunities of the individual and his rights and freedoms as a necessary prerequisite for upgrading the efficiency of the human factor and shaping the socialist self-government of the people on all levels, from the labor collective to society as a whole.

In the course of restructuring the economy, the expansion of democracy and the increased attention paid to man, reliable guarantees must be created for the active and creative efforts of every citizen, guarantees which rest on firm economic, political and legal grounds. The broadening and intensification of the legal status of Soviet citizens is one of the characteristic features of our restructuring. We believe that attention must be focused on three basic areas.

First. The strengthening of the legal status of the individual must be achieved, above all, through the increasingly full exercise of political rights and freedoms as codified in Soviet legislation and, in particular, the USSR Constitution. This includes the right to participate in the administration of governmental and social affairs, freedom of speech, the right to vote, the right to

submit to state authorities and public organizations suggestions on improving their activities and to criticize shortcomings in their work, etc.

The development of socialist democracy and ensuring the rights of the individual have not taken place in our country smoothly, as is well known. In its time, the party eliminated the worst violations of legality. However, after the 20th Congress the process of democratization of society, despite the major steps which had been taken in this area, did not acquire the required consistency. It did not develop energetically. Bureaucratism, the disparity between words and actions and the weakness of openness and public opinion adversely affected the political climate in the society and the political standards of the citizens. They created in a high percentage of people a loss of interest in public affairs, lack of spirituality and skepticism. The participation of citizens in electoral campaigns took place within the framework of specific formal stereotypes, creating an attitude of indifference toward this most important political act. In frequent cases voters were unfamiliar with the candidates for whom they had voted. They did not try to establish contact with their deputies. Poor use was made of the right to submit suggestions to state authorities and public organizations concerning improvements in their activities or to criticize shortcomings in their work. This was largely explained by the fear of persecution for criticism. Phenomena of stagnation, which had accumulated in our society, were a kind of obstructing mechanism in the exercise of political rights by the citizens.

Restructuring is impossible without reviving the political activeness of the citizens and their interest in the use of the broad range of political rights as codified in the USSR Constitution. Extensive and difficult work must be done in this area in order to develop in the citizens true proprietary feelings and an awareness of responsibility for all aspects of the country's life. Such is one of the most important conclusions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Openness is one of the prerequisites for the exercise of political rights and freedoms. Naturally, its systematic assertion is not a conflict-free process. It is important to develop the type of atmosphere of openness in which the citizens would be able not only to obtain full and reliable information on everything taking place in society and on the activities of the state apparatus and the economic and public organizations, but also freely to express their views on any problem of social life. Furthermore, they must see the practical results of their assessments, opinions, suggestions, and wishes. We need laws which would regulate such matters and an efficient and smooth mechanism for their exercise. The USSR Law on the Nationwide Discussion of Important Problems of State Life, which was adopted at the 7th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is a new step in upgrading the political activeness of the masses and in broadening openness.

In my opinion, it has become necessary to adopt a law on openness, which would become the most important instrument in the struggle against bureaucratism, formalism, and subjectivistic sallies and ensure the openness and controllability by the population of the activities of state authorities and public organizations and would contribute to enhancing the political standards of officials and ordinary citizens. The adoption of the laws on the press and on referendi would be of great importance.

Second. The most important trend in the development of the legal status of the individual is strengthening the material guarantees of the rights of citizens. This applies, above all, to socioeconomic rights and, therefore, affects the social sphere.

We are justifiably proud of the successes achieved in securing the economic rights of citizens. However, the growth of precrisis phenomena in society, the bureaucratic administration in the economy and the residual approach in the social area were major obstacles to applying the advantages of the socialist system. They had a negative influence on ensuring the exercise of such rights. This was the subject of a sharp discussion at the 27th CPSU Congress and the January and June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenums. The June Plenum paid particular attention to the prime tasks of restructuring, pointing out that the urgent problems related to substantially improving working and living conditions are still being poorly solved. We must eliminate placidity in evaluating the real situation in securing socioeconomic rights.

Thus, the question of strengthening the economic guarantees of citizen's rights relative to health protection is becoming increasingly crucial. Although health care in our country has achieved tremendous accomplishments, the quality standard of medical aid to the population is largely inconsistent with contemporary requirements. Material facilities of treatment and prophylactic establishments, particularly in rural areas, remains weak. There are frequent cases of shortages of hospital beds and the need of the population for medicines is not fully satisfied. The right of citizens to a healthy environment has not been secured in many parts of the country.

Individual labor activity, for the development of which favorable conditions are being created today, is one of the forms of exercising the right to work. The 19 November 1986 law, which provided a legal foundation for such activities, was recently enacted. The practice of its application will unquestionably create new problems which will demand efficient solutions. It is important to avoid, from the very start, unjustified prohibitions and violations of the rights of citizens which, unfortunately, have become typical in legal regulations. Yet such facts already exist. Taking into consideration the future development of cooperatives in town and country, a number of legal problems of work in cooperative associations and kolkhozes must be solved.

Radical improvements must be made in the wage system in public production in order totally to eliminate equalization. A number of unsolved problems remain in the areas of pensions and housing construction. Extensive work must be done to ensure the further securing of the rights of citizens to the utilization of the achievements of culture, including their exposure to our great cultural and historical values.

Third. The strengthening of rights and freedoms of the citizens is impossible without perfecting the legal mechanisms for their exercise. It is a question, above all, of broadening and perfecting judicial protection, as stipulated in article 58 of the USSR Constitution. We have passed a USSR Law on the Procedure for Appealing to the Courts the Illegal Actions of Officials, Which Harm Citizens' Rights. The judicial procedure for protecting the rights of citizens will contribute to strengthening the guaranteeing of such rights and to the democratization of relations between citizens and the state apparatus and the struggle against formalism and callous attitude toward the interests of the people. At the same time, we believe, the law should give the right to appeal illegal collective decisions (such as by an executive committee) which violate citizens' rights.

Unfortunately, the number of illegal acts remains high. Thus, in 1986 the prosecutor's office appealed as many as 60,000 administrative acts which were not based on the law. On the initiative of prosecutors 11,000 illegally dismissed workers were restored to their positions. A total of 90,000 complaints filed by citizens were settled to their satisfaction. We must improve the prosecutor's supervision over departmental law-making, which frequently conflicts with various laws and the rights of citizens. The prosecutors must have the right or, even more so, the obligation unconditionally to block all departmental regulations which conflict with the laws.

The January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum indicated the need to upgrade the role and authority of Soviet courts and the strict observance of the principle of judicial independence, and to improve the work of investigative authorities. Steps must be taken to enhance the prestige of the Soviet bar and to broaden its functions, which require the participation of the attorney on record at the preliminary investigation stage. Further improvements must be made in departmental and prosecutor's control and, possibly, that of the courts on the quality of pre-trial investigations.

The use of impermissible investigative methods and the indictment of innocent people are the worst possible cases of violations of socialist legality and shameful phenomena which are incompatible with the principles of our society. Individuals who violate the rights, honor and dignity of citizens must be strictly punished in accordance with Soviet laws. The presumption of innocence must truly become the fundamental principle

governing the activities of all law enforcement authorities. The updating of criminal legislation and its humanizing would contribute to this. Restructuring is inseparable from the creation of an efficient system of political and legal guarantees which would make violations of citizens' rights impossible. The difficult experience gained as a result of the grossest possible violations of such rights during the period of the cult of personality must forever remain a stern social warning and trigger an immediate reaction on the part of society to any case of illegality and arbitrariness.

As we can see, extensive and difficult work lies ahead. No complacency can exist in this case. We need a constant search and the use of all opportunities offered by our social system and of the advantages of socialist democracy.

The Great October Revolution and the experience in the development of Soviet society had a tremendous historical impact on many areas of international life, including the humanities. However, the achievements of socialism in this area and its essential contribution to universal human experience in the protection of human rights have been stubbornly ignored in the West. The development of international norms and standards in this area is credited to "Western civilization" and the "free world." What is the situation in reality, as we turn to historical experience?

A. Movchan. Lenin's ideas and principles of true democracy for all working people and, consequently, for every person, were expressed in the Decree on Peace, the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, and the Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People. They were the first to proclaim and codify the right of nations and individuals to peace, the right of nations to self-determination and to choosing their own way of social and governmental development, the socioeconomic rights of the working people and rights in the area of culture.

Subsequently, all such rights gained universal recognition and support in familiar international documents, such as the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966). In acknowledging the importance of civic and political rights, the international community proceeds from the fact that a person deprived of economic and social rights in the area of culture is no longer the individual considered as the ideal of the free person in the Universal Declaration (see UN General Assembly Resolution 421 (V) E, dated 4 December 1950). The socioeconomic and cultural rights, the legal nature of which has not been accepted by capitalism, thus became a reality which had to be taken into consideration. This is owed to V.I. Lenin and is one of the greatest accomplishments of socialism. A UN resolution points out the historical influence which V.I. Lenin's humanistic

ideas and practical activities had on the development and exercise of economic, social and cultural rights (see Resolution 16 (XXV) of the UN Human Rights Commission, dated 13 March 1969).

Also universally recognized is the leading role of the Soviet Union in drafting the UN Charter. With the active participation of the USSR, it codified the resolve of the nations to save future generations from the calamities of war and to "reassert faith in basic human rights and in the dignity and value of the individual." Furthermore, it was precisely the USSR delegation, taking into consideration the lessons of World War II, which had clearly proved to the world that the course charted by countries toward aggression is inseparably related to the militarization of the economy and to mounting an offensive against the socioeconomic and political rights of the working people, which suggested the inclusion in the UN Charter of a resolution to the effect that maintaining international peace and security must be closely related to the task of "respecting human rights, particularly the right to work and to education and basic freedoms for all, regardless of race, language, religion and sex." This motion marked the beginning of international cooperation in encouraging and developing universal respect and the observance of human rights and basic freedoms for all. No such cooperation had been previously known in the area of international relations in the age of capitalism. The existence of the colonial system excluded in general the possibility of raising the question of universal respect for human rights without any discrimination whatsoever. Naturally, this is well-known to Western politicians and jurists who, however, prefer to forget it.

The appearance of the principle of universal respect for human rights in modern international law and in relations among countries is the result of the progress made by human civilization and of the theory and practice in solving the problem of human rights in the socialist countries.

The socialist countries are active participants in the formulation and adoption by the United Nations of international declarations, pacts, conventions and other acts on basic rights and freedoms of the individual. The rights and freedoms contained in these documents are considered today international standards based on agreements among very different states (socialist and capitalist, developed and developing, monarchies and republics, single and federated, and countries with a state religion and those in which the church is separated from the state). By virtue of this fact they are of a general democratic nature, acceptable to all, for which reason they must be observed by all countries without exception.

It is no accident that today the attitude toward international documents in the area of human rights is an objective criterion of the true approach taken by a given country to universal and real respect of human rights and to the humane task of securing universally acknowledged

democratic rights and freedoms for their own populations. Let us note in this connection that the Soviet Union is a signatory to all main international acts of the United Nations relative to human rights. In particular, the Soviet Union was the first among the great powers to ratify international pacts on human rights and the International Convention on the Abolishment of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

As to the United States, to this day it is ignoring the main agreements drafted by the international community in this area. This causes a great deal of difficulties in exercising control over the observance of human rights in that country.

International pacts on human rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination stipulate that the participating countries must regularly submit reports on the implementation of the requirements contained in these international documents. Such reports are considered by international committees of experts especially set up for such purposes, at session open to the public and the press. It is precisely these procedures that constitute the "international mechanism" for control or investigation of the implementation of international agreements, the need for which in the various areas Washington constantly demands. However, once again we witness the latest gap between words and actions on the part of the U.S. administration.

As far as the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are concerned, they regularly submit their reports to the UN human rights agencies and are invariably given a high rating on the meaningful dialogue and constructive cooperation they display in the implementation of the principle of universal respect for human rights.

The experience acquired by mankind in the areas of democracy and defense of human rights will unquestionably be further enriched as a result of the restructuring taking place in our country and the implementation of the humane initiatives of the USSR in the international arena.

International Defense of Human Rights: Struggle of Ideas and Ways of Cooperation

The changes occurring in the USSR, revolutionary in terms of their significance, cannot fail to interest the world public, politicians and scientists above all. The reaction of the latter, however, is by no means uniform. Frequently it is based on the absolutizing of Western democracy and the wish to prove that human rights are in general underestimated in the USSR, which leads to violating the rights of Soviet citizens. The "double standard" policy used by the West in rating the practices of the socialist

countries and their own is manifested also in the interpretation of the fundamental principles of contemporary international law. What is most typical today of the struggle of ideas on the question of human rights?

V. Kartashkin. The supporters of detente and cooperation welcome the occurring processes. Others try to belittle the significance of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and to provoke skepticism and mistrust in public opinion. They claim, in particular, that the West must be "on guard," for allegedly the reforms in the USSR are "cosmetic" and will lead to no radical changes in society and in the country's domestic and foreign policy.

It is indicative that restructuring is clearly not in the liking of the diehard opponents of socialism. This is no accident. The democratization of all aspects of our life and the course of instilling a new style of political thinking in intergovernmental relations as well as the new Soviet peace initiatives are causing some concern in imperialist reaction. The myths of the "Soviet menace," the totalitarian nature of the Soviet state and the Soviet "evil empire" are crumbling down. This leads to intensified efforts to question the achievements of socialism in the area of human rights. Even while acknowledging the fruitfulness of the changes occurring in the USSR, some people in the West try to explain them as being the result of external pressure. The reactionary circles stubbornly refuse to acknowledge that the process of democratization of our society is dictated by inner needs and demonstrates the tremendous reserves of the socialist system. Despite the entire variety of reactions, one thing remains clear: Western political circles, as M.S. Gorbachev has pointed out, "are not reluctant to 'juggle' with our restructuring, in debating about the type of Soviet Union they find more suitable: weak or strong, or entirely democratic, so to say, according to their yardstick, or not quite."

The acute ideological struggle on the question of human rights is inevitable and will continue. However, we proceed from the fact that ideological differences must not be extended to intergovernmental relations, undermine their stability and hinder the elaboration of mutually acceptable agreements.

At the present time one of the most important trends in world politics is that of humanitarian cooperation. Socialism, as the heir and continuator of the democratic traditions of the past, favors its widening, based on respect for the laws of all members of the international community and noninterference in their domestic affairs.

The bourgeois ideologues accuse the socialist countries of allegedly exaggerating the principles of noninterference. Let us recall in this connection that contemporary international law includes the specific solution of problems of the exercise of human rights and freedoms as being the internal competence of the country. While

promulgating its laws and administrative regulations and undertaking the necessary political and socioeconomic measures for the exercise of the rights and freedoms of its citizens, the state must strictly observe the legal obligations it has assumed on the basis of international agreements.

Isolated violations of individual rights are possible in any society. They may be caused by a variety of reasons (wrong decisions made by a judicial or administrative authority, a wrong assessment of a situation or a fact by an official, abuse of official position, etc.). Countries with a developed political system have the proper juridical mechanisms which can redress any violation of rights. Therefore, there is no need for international interference in domestic governmental affairs. Such interference violates the sovereignty of the state and conflicts with the United Nations Charter and the Human Rights Pacts, the Helsinki Final Act and other international accords. It is only when violations of human rights are systematic and assume a mass and particularly extensive nature and when countries commit acts of aggression and state terrorism and promote a policy of genocide, apartheid and racism that the UN authorities and other international organizations have the right not only to discuss the situation and to recommend to the country the necessary measures to redress it but also to take coercive steps independently.

The Western countries suggest a different approach. They favor the creation of a permanent mechanism which will consider essentially presentations by countries and individual complaints of violations of the rights of specific individuals. It is this precisely that is the essence of the suggestions submitted by the Western countries at the Vienna meeting of representatives of countries members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

While zealously looking for violations of human rights in the socialist countries, the West is in no hurry to bind itself with juridical obligations in this area. Particularly indicative is the attitude of the United States toward a most important international accord, such as the 1948 Convention on Preventing Crimes of Genocide and Punishments for It, which was ratified by the overwhelming majority of countries. This convention has been submitted to the American Senate for ratification repeatedly and has been invariably rejected. The American legislators have been particularly opposed to Article 2 of the convention, which defines genocide. Many of them have not concealed the fact that it is precisely in accordance with this article that the United States is guilty of acts of genocide repeatedly committed against the native Indian population in the country, in the course of suppressing black actions in defense of their rights and during the war in Vietnam. It was only last year, nearly 40 years after its adoption by the United Nations, that the Senate consented to the ratification of this document. However, this was accompanied by a series of stipulations which, as many American senators

admit, distort the spirit of the document and compromise the approval of the convention and, therefore, undermine the country's reputation.

The United States and some other Western countries are trying to introduce in international relations a policy of force and norms and principles which would legalize the use of force in the "defense" of human rights. For many years the Western press has waged a campaign to legalize the so-called humanitarian intervention aimed at establishing in one country or another a "democratic regime" and "ensuring" that basic human rights and freedoms are observed. Appeals have been made to broaden the power and influence of the United States in world affairs which, allegedly, would contribute to ensuring the observance of human rights ubiquitously. The tragic consequences of such a "policy" in Grenada, Nicaragua, Libya, Lebanon and other parts of the globe have clearly shown the world the consequences of legalizing the use of force in international relations.

The argument on how better to ensure worthy living conditions for the citizens of one's country and the fullest possible exercise of their rights and freedoms has not ended. However, under the conditions of a nuclear threat this argument could be conducted only through peaceful methods. We are prepared to continue this debate and prove in fact the advantages of socialism.

Ideological differences should not be an obstacle to cooperation. This is our firm position which is shared by many progressive personalities in the West. Although displaying a new type of thinking in the solution of international problems and appealing for constructive cooperation in the defense of human rights, the Soviet Union nonetheless encounters a stubborn unwillingness on the part of many of its Western partners to follow this path and an obvious wish to increase the tension on the part of those who claim to be concerned with human rights more than anyone else. What specifically are we referring to?

V. Lomeyko. There is no sensible alternative to cooperation, for if there is no cooperation there is confrontation, the philosophy and politics of which are essentially sterile, destructive and, in the final account, lead to dangerous and fatal consequences for civilization.

It was precisely from this viewpoint that the Soviet delegation proceeded in the discussion of this problem at the latest 43rd session of the UN Commission on Human Rights, which was held in Geneva from 2 February to 13 March 1987. To many delegates, particularly those from the Western countries, this approach was an unaccustomed one. In explaining to them the position of the USSR, the Soviet delegation emphasized that, first of all, constructive cooperation should be manifested in the efforts of any country to create, above all for its own citizens, maximally favorable conditions which would secure their rights as stipulated in the respective international pacts. Second, that the different countries should cooperate in the exercise of human

rights in accordance with these and other accords. Third, that an exchange of positive experience in the area of the fullest exercise of human rights should take place.

It is important to emphasize that despite the entire differences in social systems, governmental structures and political and philosophical doctrines, the world community has a solid universal foundation for international cooperation in the area of human rights: the Universal Declaration of 1948, the international pacts of 1966 and other international agreements pertaining to human rights.

It is difficult, therefore, to understand the logic of those who fail to ratify the already adopted documents yet try to teach others how to live like them, and who preach about human rights. Yet is precisely this position that is being held by the United States and some of its allies at the different international fora, including the UN Human Rights Commission. As to the Soviet Union, it favors a universal approach to the implementation of all the stipulations of both pacts in their indivisible interconnection and interdependence.

Once again the participants in the 43rd session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission were able to see the indivisibility between our domestic and foreign policy. The thesis of the need for a democratization of thinking on the international level and the humanizing of international relations, formulated those days by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the Moscow International Forum, met with a broad response among many delegates. Our own practice in restructuring, including our democratic institutions which ensure the political rights of the citizens, decisively contributed to this matter.

The steps which were taken contributed to the growth and strengthening of the reputation of our state in the field of foreign policy in the past 2 years no less than have our peace initiatives, imbued with the spirit of the new style of thinking. The session of the UN Human Rights Commission, which lasted 6 weeks and in the course of which a wide range of problems related to human rights in various parts of the world was discussed extensively, proved the unquestionable moral superiority of our policy in this area compared with the policy of the United States.

To begin with, our approach of constructive cooperation is more fruitful in terms of its spirit and nature compared to the line of confrontation openly proclaimed by the U.S. administration. Second, openness, candor and the self-critical nature of our approach to our own shortcomings and our intention to intensify the process of democratization and to broaden the rights of Soviet citizens contrast with Washington's sermonizing policy of double standards and claims.

The world is tired of confrontations. This is confirmed by the failure of the effort to pass an anti-Cuban resolution at the 43rd session of the Human Rights Commission. The essence of the matter is that long before the session, last year, the American administration proclaimed its intention of "teach a lesson" to the socialist countries, Cuba above all, "for human rights violation."

A number of delegates which addressed the session, drew attention to the openly provocative nature of such a political act. Some members of the American delegation themselves acknowledged that it was not a question of human rights but of the fact that the United States must attack Cuba for domestic reasons: the administration is interested in supporting the mafia of Cuban emigres—the "gusanos." The main thing is Washington's desire to defame the prestige of the Isle of Freedom in the eyes of the "third world," the Latin American countries above all and, together with this, to aggravate relations within the UN Human Rights Commission.

Despite the tremendous efforts of the U.S. administration, the Americans were unable to impose upon the commission the adoption of their anti-Cuban resolution despite the support of all of their Western allies and a number of countries dependent on them.

However, the proceedings of the 43rd session of the UN Human Rights Commission indicated something else as well: many people in the West are not interested in a practical discussion of human rights. Furthermore, they fear the broad and open discussion on this matter. To quote M.S. Gorbachev, they try "to reduce this entire topic to two or three personal cases, avoiding a discussion of anything else." The groundlessness of this approach becomes even more obvious when we consider that the Soviet Union suggested the holding a representative humanitarian forum in Moscow, where a wide range of problems could be discussed in a serious and businesslike manner.

It is no accident that many Western delegates felt uncomfortable when the gross and mass violations of human rights in the racist South Africa, in Arab territories occupied by Israel, and in Pinochet's jails in Chile were discussed or when the discussion turned to the millions of unemployed and homeless people in the West, the discrimination of the colored population, the arbitrariness of the police and judicial persecution of anyone considered a dissident by the capitalist system.

The representatives of the socialist countries called upon all countries to engage in constructive cooperation in the area of human rights, for if there is a true and comprehensive sincere concern with the situation of the homeless, why not be interested in the experience of countries in which this problem has been already solved? If the problem of racial discrimination or the illiteracy of millions of citizens, as is the case with the United States, for example, exist in some countries, why not learn something from the positive experience of that same

Cuba or Nicaragua where remarkable successes in this area have been achieved? This precisely would be an example of constructive international cooperation in the area of human rights!

The idea of cooperation in the area of human rights is gradually making its way on the level of social organizations. Although such contacts naturally bear the imprint of ideological differences, their development is facilitated by the fact that they are largely deprived of this obvious political coloring which is characteristic of international relations in this area. What are the prospects for such cooperation?

K. Shakhmuradov. Today an increasing number of soberly thinking members of the Western legal public oppose the use of human rights as a weapon for confrontation or a means of ideological pressure on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In turn, we are convinced that with a serious and balanced approach to the study of the problem of human rights a constructive dialogue is both possible and necessary. This is confirmed by the experience acquired in bilateral and multilateral encounters periodically organized in our country and abroad by the Association of Soviet Jurists (ASYu) and other social organizations. At the same time, however, it indicates the entire complexity of organizing cooperation in this area, for reciprocal mistrust and prejudice and mental stereotypes let themselves be felt.

Regretfully, the confrontation approach has been typical in the discussion of this problem for decades on end. It meant an arbitrary classification of human rights and freedoms by the international community, their division into more or less "important" depending on the possibilities of the country in ensuring them and the absolutizing of one problem or another. In frequent cases Soviet participants in this discussion clearly emphasize socioeconomic rights, whereas our Western opponents draw the attention to political and personal rights in the securing of which, they claim, the West is ahead. The results of this dialogue are, as a rule, quite modest, for each side becomes increasingly entrenched in its views, ignoring the reasoning of the other. This eliminates the possibility of showing some progress and formulating scientific and practical recommendations in the matter of the real rather than fictitious defense of human rights.

The natural and ever-increasing interest shown by foreign jurists in the restructuring process in the USSR creates new and very favorable conditions for a constructive dialogue. We have already initiated it. Let me cite as an example the meeting between the delegation of the ASYu and the International Commission of Jurists (which included noted jurists from almost 20 countries) which was held in Madrid in October 1986. Although not void of customary stereotypes and reciprocal attacks, this discussion developed into an interested exchange of

views on problems of freedom of the press and information, contacts among individuals, and the interconnection between socioeconomic and political human rights. A reciprocal understanding was reached on a number of such most important problems, as reflected in the final documents of the meeting.

Let me cite as an illustration the situation concerning the nature of economic, social and cultural rights which, as many people in the West believe, allegedly cannot be juridically guaranteed and about which the states do not assume the type of juridical obligations as they do in the areas of civil and political rights.

The representatives of the Soviet jurists and the International Commission of Jurists were able to surmount this extremely narrow approach by stipulating in the final document that "the existing practice, particularly in the socialist countries, indicates that economic, social and cultural rights can be objects of protection by the courts to an equal extent as civil and political rights." This is a major victory for realism, albeit within the framework of contacts between two nongovernmental organizations.

Cooperation in a constructive spirit was demonstrated by a number of nongovernmental organizations in the course of the 43rd session of the UN Human Rights Commission. Based on the general democratic content of human rights, they were unanimous, in particular, in assessing the ever-worsening domestic political situation in Chile despite the opinion of the commission's official reporter to the effect that allegedly the situation in that country had begun to change for the better, subsequent to the adoption of the 1980 constitution.

Fruitful cooperation between jurists from different countries on the struggle against crime and the treatment of violators has been developing for a number of years. Here as well differences in political views and legal systems have not prevented the formulation of recommendations on the elimination of this major social evil which strikes both social systems. Humane standards of treatment of defendants and sentenced individuals are being formulated jointly.

Unquestionably, opportunities for cooperation in the area of human rights are by no means exhausted. Such cooperation will develop as the new way of thinking, currently demonstrated by the USSR and the other socialist countries and other responsible political and public personalities in the West and by anyone who understands the objective need for international cooperation in the solution of universal human problems will advance further.

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The Nezhinsk Story; Thoughts on a Personal Matter

18020001q Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 119-122

[Article by G. Vodolazov, head, department of world politics and international activities of the CPSU Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, professor, doctor of philosophical sciences, and A. Volkov, deputy head of the department for scientific work, professor, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee invited us to act as experts on a personal case. Committee instructor Veniamin Mikhaylovich Mironov laid in front of us a thick volume of documents and said: look at this case as specialists in international affairs. I have serious doubts concerning the nature itself of the charges...

Let us immediately stipulate that by now the Party Control Committee has already considered the matter thoroughly and made a decision which we consider just. However, a great many aspects of this case touched us and made us desirous to express out loud the questions which arose within us and to share our concern.

It all began slightly less than 2 years ago. On 9 October 1985, Gennadiy Grigoryevich Strashko, head of the department of philosophy and political economy of Nezhinsk Pedagogical Institute, Chernigov Oblast, delivered a lecture to his colleagues on the international communist and worker movements. The document, the addressee of which is not indicated in the copy attached to the file, is dated 10 October. It is entitled "Statement by Nikolay Danilovich Fedoseyenko, CPSU member since 1944, chief of the first section of Nezhinsk State Pedagogical Institute." Following are excerpts from this document:

"I deem it my duty to report to you on the lecture which was delivered... and the content of which is of an ideologically harmful nature, manifested in praising the capitalist world and stating that in the West no one has any faith in the socialist system and in the communist parties.... Comrade Strashko says nothing on the essence of the topic in his lecture on the communist and worker movements."

This is followed by arguments cited in confirmation of this statement. It is simply embarrassing to quote them. Actually, here is a single example characterizing the author's "method:"

"Comrade G.G. Strashko reported on the subject of the socialist countries of Poland, Hungary, the GDR, Romania and Yugoslavia that they are dependent on the capitalists to whom they owe money.... He doubted the outcome of the forthcoming elections in Poland."

What the lecturer actually said is entirely clear, but then one hears what one wants to hear. The author of the letter considers the lecturer a horrible criminal for mentioning the difficulties experienced by some communist parties, the fact that no revolutionary situations exist in Western Europe, and that contradictions exist within the working class.... Naturally, not everyone is ready for such a discussion on difficulties in this area, difficulties which have been extensively described in the mass press, but which concentrated essentially on successes and has written in a spirit of respect for the struggle waged by the communists, and has praised their achievements. Although such writings have been accurate, nonetheless we have made a common error in this manner. Today, however, we are discussing something else. Everything would have been considered normal and natural had anyone among the listeners asked questions or even argued with the lecturer. Without explaining anything whatsoever, Fedoseyenko drew his conclusions:

"I believe that comrade Strashko uses data about the communist parties in the West supplied by capitalist propaganda and aimed at discrediting reality....

"Some young people were pleased with the lecture, clearly for the sole reason that they are poorly informed about the capitalist world and its ideology and the true life led by the workers.

"I regret that party member G.G. Strashko, who is head of the department of philosophy and political economy, is so far removed from reality and is not on the level required of his position.

"Such people must not hold positions related to the upbringing of the growing generation.

"The legitimate question arises as to what he tells the students in his lectures."

Several days later, this letter was followed by two similar declarations. It is true that the statements they contain have been the result of a provocation (such as "on the essence of the questions I was asked, I deem it necessary to report that..."). It is clear, however, that it all started with the first letter. And the first thing which affected us, the first question which arises, is related precisely to that letter: why is it that the very tone of the letter did not immediately or subsequently create any negative reaction or even the slightest condemnation? The rejection of such a tone would have been natural, even if the author of the statement had reported the actual facts and even if one would not be struck by the unqualified nature of his views, poorly combined with the claim of being able to judge "on the essence of the topic of the lecture."

The author of the statement is a respected person: he is a senior party member and a Great Patriotic War veteran, and secretary of the party bureau in charge of administrative-economic affairs. This may explain a few things. At the session of the institute's party committee, however, N.D. Fedoseyenko said:

"One must know how to present the truth. Although I do not have a diploma, I nonetheless hold on to my views. On such matters comrade G.G. Strashko has caused harm... His lecture has caused a great deal of harm."

Belief in one's views is a good thing. However, we also know how harmful can be such a belief, as if a class sense could replace education and specialized knowledge, as certified by that same diploma, in some specific areas.

Naturally, the opinion of a listener to a lecture should not be ignored. Strashko's colleagues could have met and discussed their questions at a method conference, for example, as is being done in our academy or, perhaps, invite specialists on the subject to present their views. Such a procedure appears even more natural when we take into consideration the conclusions of the commission which was set up by the party buro of the department of the institute's social sciences in connection with the statements it received.

On the basis of a survey made of 18 people who attended the lecture, the commission noted that 14 of them had rated positively the interesting and new material chosen by the lecturer. Their view was that "the lecture was delivered in a vivid and emotional way, confirming the high erudition of the lecturer" and that it was received by the audience with a great deal of attention. The facts cited by Strashko "were taken from specialized publications and the special course," which had been offered at the Institute for Upgrading Skills in Minsk, from which the lecturer had recently returned. Fourteen of the 18 people said that the lecture contained neither apolitical or anti-Soviet statements. It is true that according to two of them the lecture "made a depressing impression caused by the novelty and unusual nature of the facts." One person noted that the lecture "made an equivocal impression" and another said that it "allowed violations of methodological principles." The psychologists who attended the lecture, the commission concluded, expressed the view that the negative reception of it was based on the form of presentation of the material: "there were no emphases, or pauses, the lecturer did not use a written text and the presentation was quite informal... the exceptionally graphic and loose way of presentation was rejected by part of the audience, as a result of which a barrier to its acceptance arose." All of this led Strashko's colleagues to the conclusion that, as a whole, though the standard of the lecture as a whole "was adequate," its hastily conceived structure and drawing attention on difficulties and unsolved problems as well as the absence of necessary conclusions "resulted in a one-sided assessment of some trends in the global revolutionary movement, which is inadmissible in lecturing a mass audience.

But then even if a method commission or conference would undertake to discuss the structure of such a lecture, is it suitable to "concentrate the attention on difficulties and unsolved problems" (which is essentially something which the party asks us to do, although it is

clear that the problem of weighing and comprehensively assessing remain) is such punctiliousness needed in the case of such a "mass audience" as a group of teachers and associates of an institute? Is it proper in delivering a lecture "without reading from a text" (in our institute a lecturer would more likely be blamed for adhering too closely to the text); furthermore, what are the limits of an "informal behavior?" Apparently, there were grounds for such a comradely professional discussion. As the documents reveal, Strashko indeed seems to have overstepped some kind of line, most likely precisely in the way of presentation of the lecture: in an effort to present some facts more expressively and sharply, he was guilty (as he himself acknowledges) of two or three inaccuracies or, rather, even rather scathing and somewhat coarse expressions which should not be used in a lecture of this kind. However, this is as far as it goes. To the extent to which the materials put together by the KPK allow us to judge, added to the other testimony, essentially the lecturer gave an accurate interpretation of the subject.

The second thing which affected us a great deal was the following: why is it that almost immediately this entire matter assumed a political coloring? Why is it that at the meeting of the party organization of the social science department, F.S. Arvat, the institute's rector, who gave an overall positive assessment to G.G. Strashko's work, suddenly said: "He deserves a reprimand, for he could be misunderstood..." Who would misunderstand and why? Why is it that the other teachers all of a sudden developed some kind of guilt complex and that some of them, while praising Strashko, quite illogically ended their statements by saying that "a reprimand is deserved." There was some criticism and Strashko's policies as department head were analyzed. He was blamed for being hot-tempered, for occasional lack of tactfulness, etc. This type of blanket condemnation occur frequently. We cannot defend a person without knowing him. It is quite likely that he is not without sin but why should he be accused of all possible charges precisely when it is necessary to shed light on a specific event and, more than anything else, help the comrade and protect him from a stupid condemnation? Nonetheless, what struck us most were statements on the part of those who would defend Strashko and then, suddenly, say "I favor a reprimand!" The impression develops that they are trying to protect him from something worse! But why? As we continued to read the document, we began to understand this. The events developed as follows:

The party organization at the department of social sciences of Nezhinsk Pedagogical Institute issued on 12 November 1985 a reprimand to Strashko for failure to think through some of his formulations in the lecture and omissions of a methodical nature, which resulted in the fact that some of the audience understood individual facts as presented in the lecture wrongly;

On 13 November 1985 the party committee of the Nezhinsk Pedagogical Institute amended the resolution

of the party organization and issued a severe reprimand for serious errors of a methodical nature made by Strashko;

On 26 November 1985 the Nezhinsk Gorkom, Ukrainian Communist Party, amended the resolution of the party committee of the pedagogical institute and issued Strashko a strict reprimand to be entered in his file, for having delivered a lecture containing politically harmful positions concerning some problems of the communist and worker movements.

Our emphasis of some of the statements allows us to trace the manner in which "omissions of a methodical nature" as the case developed from one agency to another, became "politically harmful positions," and a reprimand without an entry became a strict reprimand with an entry in the file.

The resolution of the Nezhinsk Gorkom Buro deserves particular attention. It claims, as the document of the CPSU Central Committee KPK emphasizes, that "despite the conclusions of the party organization and lacking additional proof," that in his lecture Strashko "allowed a tendentious selection of negative facts and phenomena... without giving it a proper class analysis and conclusions," indicating that "methodological and theoretical shortcomings" which took place and "the absence in the lecture of a clear Marxist-Leninist conceptual trend." After laying such firm foundations, the party gorkom not only penalized Strashko more severely along a party line but also "deemed inexpedient his further employment" as head of department. On the demand of the gorkom, one month ago the institute's rector had said at a meeting that "I positively assess the work of Gennadiy Grigoryevich as head of department," on 10 December 1985 he issued an order dismissing Strashko from his position "for shortcomings of a methodological nature, manifested in a violation of the principles of objectivity and class-oriented analysis in discussing problems of the international communist and worker movements in his lecture." Let us note that in the conclusion of specialists from the USSR Ministry of Education, attached to the file, G.G. Strashko was relieved from his obligations in violation of the stipulated procedure and should be reassigned to his previous duties.

The most serious question arises at this point: why did the party gorkom buro deem possible to make such a decision? This is not a question of the moral aspect of the matter but of something else: if specialists did not find the lecture politically harmful, theoretically groundless and inconsistent with the Marxist-Leninist outlook, on what grounds did the party gorkom reach such a conclusion? Does the gorkom have its own specialists on the communist and worker movements or else, as was the case of the CPSU Central Committee KPK, did it invite outside specialists for an expert evaluation? No, everything was resolved simply, without any particular efforts to find the truth.

This question turns into a wide problem of relations between local party authorities and specialists in the social sciences and scientific associates and teachers. We must consider this problem, for the academy regularly retrains teachers in local party schools and we must meet with them at the annual symposia and method conferences, at which they describe their difficulties. In particular, they mention how difficult it is sometimes to present to their students fresh knowledge in the area of the social sciences, to discuss something new at theory symposia or in their lectures, precisely because a high percentage of local workers consider themselves specialists in this area of knowledge and because all of this they learned sometime in the past without mastering the fact that it is precisely in this area of knowledge that it is totally impossible to learn something once and for all.

It would be difficult to imagine that restructuring would be successful without the development of Marxist-Leninist theory. This no longer requires any proof. The party demands of the social scientists, yes, demands, a creative and innovative interpretation of contemporary realities, and fresh ideas. It calls for daring theoretical discussions. Forms of active training, such as roundtable meetings, theory discussions in the course of which those attending hold discussions among themselves and with the teachers, express their views and assessments (one could imagine that occasionally they "overtheorize!"), are becoming increasingly frequent. As a result, they not simply accept one conclusion or another reached by the scientists but also learn how to provide a scientific interpretation of reality independently. This is the main thing, for life is dynamic and we are training cadres for the future and if that which they have learned today becomes obsolete tomorrow, they must be prepared, they must be able to draw their own conclusions from their observation of reality and make independent decisions. Finally, in our view, in the case of a mass audience as well it is important not only to inform the listeners on a given topic but to provide incentive for independent thoughts and to concentrate the attention precisely on the difficult and unsolved problems of theory and practice. For it is obvious that the development of democracy is inconceivable without upgrading the social science standards of the masses and their ability to engage in a new type of political thinking, to think independently. However, could social scientists, teachers of social science subjects and lecturers on such topics meet such stricter requirements if the sword of Damocles of political accusations is hanging over their head?

Naturally, our work is political and it is desirable to have less errors in this matter. This demands a particularly careful weighing of assessments, their maximally possible substantiation and a sensitive handling of the complex instruments of the study of social life and of influencing it. However, we must realize that the theoretical interpretation of new realities is a process in the course of which not everything could be thoroughly checked immediately. This requires a search, the formulation of hypotheses and the clash of opinions. A gross

administrative interference in this process could be much more harmful than an inaccuracy and even an error in the assessment made by a specialist. For it is indeed true that the most dangerous error is the fear of erring, which fetters scientific creativity and fresh thoughts; it appears frequently precisely from the fear of blanket and groundless accusations based on an arbitrary interpretation of the truth on the part of those who believe that their official position allows them to be the judge of everything. Was this not the reason that the science dealing with the life of society was accused of having tagging behind political practice?

What disturbed us in the Nezhinsk case is the fact that no one, until matters reached the KPK, questioned the right of uninformed people not even simply to judge the lecture of a specialist (which would have been only half bad) but even to condemn him, and to punish and disqualify him.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Chernigov Obkom actually gave its stamp of approval to the resolution of the Nezhinsk Gorkom on 7 April 1986 and refused to reduce Strashko's party reprimand, noting that the strict reprimand, with an entry in his file, had been due to discussing in his lecture some problems of the international communist and worker movements "on the basis of politically erroneous positions." On 15 July 1986, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, "bearing in mind that comrade Strashko admits and condemns the errors he has made, that his work and participation in the social life of the collective has been characterized as positive and that he has not been previously accused by the party," reduced the punishment and formulation, in amending the resolution of the Chernigov Party Obkom, and issued a "strict reprimand for failure to think through some formulations in presenting his lecture, and for omissions of a methodical nature, which brought about an improper perception of individual facts presented in the lecture by some of the audience." It was only the CPSU Central Committee KPK that deemed necessary to involve in a consultation on the essence of the matter specialists in the area of the international communist movement and to weigh all circumstances and determine the accuracy of the evaluations which had been made.

Justice was restored by the Party Control Committee: in amending the resolution of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, it was resolved to limit the discussion of the problem to strictly point out to Strashko the errors included in his lecture. Such comradely critical remark has nothing in common with the political charges unfairly leveled against him previously. The question was raised of restoring Strashko to his position as head of department by annulling the resolution which had been passed in violation of labor legislation.

The matter ended on 24 June 1987. Strashko, who had suffered a great deal in his quest for justice for a period of more than 18 months, was able to return home with a

sense of satisfaction. However, the questions which arose in connection with his case have remained, in our view, and demand serious consideration on the part of the public and the attention of the party authorities.

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To Defend the Homeland and Build Socialism

18020001r Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 123-125

[Review by B. Gorbachev of the book "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works] by Kim Il-song. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 184 pp]

[Text] A collection of selected works by Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Labor Party Central Committee and president of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, covering the period from 1984 to 1986, has been published.

These writings deal with basic problems of the life and activities of the Korean people and their present and future. A brief look at the content of the collection enables us to single out two radical problems to which the author has paid particular attention and which face the country, the party and the people: ensuring favorable international conditions for socialist development, peaceful and democratic reunification of the divided homeland and continuation of the major constructive project of building a socialist society. These are the problems which imbue the life, work, thoughts and expectations of the Korean people.

As Kim Il-song has repeatedly emphasized, the Korean People's Democratic Republic must build a new society under truly difficult, complex and stressed external conditions. North Korea experienced a cruel imperialist invasion and went through a lengthy period of restoration. By the will of U.S. imperialism and the reactionary forces in the south (South Korea) for more than 40 years the country and the nation have been divided. After arming the South Korean regime to the teeth, Washington is maintaining in the South its own 40,000-strong army, armed with nuclear weapons. It conducts annual large-scale provocative "team spirit" exercises and keeps up the military tension on the Korean peninsula, which has become one of the most explosive areas on earth.

The Korean People's Democratic Republic has repeatedly submitted constructive and peaceful initiatives aimed at developing relations with the South, and Kim Il-song describes in detail proposals aimed at solving the main, the vitally important problem—the reunification of Korea on a peaceful democratic basis, without external interference. This includes a dialogue, talks on different levels with a view to concluding a peace treaty (instead of armistice) between North and South, with

significant reductions in the armed forces of both sides and the adoption of a declaration of nonaggression; restoring economic, cultural and civil relations, undertaking major joint economic projects, including mining, fishing, agriculture, power and trade; withdrawal from the South of American forces and declaring the Korean peninsula a peaceful nuclear-free zone; finally, it means a long-term program for the creation of a democratic federated republic of Kore, in which both parts of the country will retain their current social systems. However, the positive initiatives and suggestions of the KPDR meet with the ill will and selfish considerations of imperialism and Southern reactionary circles, which groundlessly emphasize the "threat from the North."

"Today," Kim Il-song notes, "the democratic leaders and the people of South Korea are struggling for the democratization of their society, which could be considered the first stage in the struggle for its independent development. In the course of the development of such a democratization, the people of South Korea are bound to raise even higher the slogan of independent development, which is precisely what the Americans fear.... The invariable position held by our party and republic government is to oppose any attempt at dividing our country forever, and to unify through peaceful means the North with the South within a single integral state" (pp 19-20).

The KPDR approaches the problem of the country's reunification on the basis of very realistic, weighed and constructive positions. A successful dialogue, Kim Il-song emphasizes, requires a favorable situation. Above all, no actions which would aggravate the tension between North and South should be taken. From beginning to end the talks should be based on the principles of autonomy, peaceful unification and "great national consolidation," as stipulated in the 4 July 1972 Joint North-South declaration. "Based on the sincere desire to unify the homeland, either side should trust the other and respect its partner and, showing sincerity and generosity, give second priority to differences and make all possible efforts to attain unity" (p 27).

The Korean People's Democratic Republic is exercising an active and comprehensive foreign policy. It fully supports the initiatives and suggestions formulated by the Soviet Union, aimed at halting the arms race, achieving a gradual nuclear disarmament by the year 2,000, eliminating the military confrontation on the European continent, ensuring the peaceful settlement of numerous conflicts, lowering tension, preventing the further militarization in the Asian-Pacific area and creating nuclear-free zones. As an active member of the nonaligned movement, the KPDR firmly supports the anti-imperialist, anticolonialist and antiracist line. "It is necessary," Kim Il-song states, "for all peace-loving peoples on earth, forming a broad united front and energetically deploying an antiwar and antinuclear movement in the defense of peace, put an end to the thoughtless efforts on the part of the imperialists aimed at increasing the nuclear potential and the militarization of space and

strive for the total elimination of all types of nuclear weapons and block the aggressive actions of the imperialists, which are becoming increasingly provocative with every passing day" (p 85).

Despite the difficult circumstances, the KPDR is successfully pursuing the building of socialism in all areas of life, systematically implementing the resolutions of the 6th Congress of the Korean Labor Party. The country is currently drafting a new long-term development plan. Its objectives are to produce in the immediate future 100 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power, 120 million tons of coal, 15 million tons of steel, 1.5 million tons of nonferrous metals, 20 million tons of cement, 7 million tons of chemical fertilizers, 1.5 billion meters of fabrics, 5 million tons of sea products and 15 million tons of grain per year (see p 40). During the period covered by the plan, the Korean comrades intend to ensure above all a priority development for the extracting industry, the energy base and rail haulage and to modernize the national economy on the basis of the achievements of science and technology. They also plan to develop about 300,000 hectares of saline land which, considering the limited amount of arable land in the country, is of the greatest possible national economic significance.

The Korean working people and their vanguard, the Korean Labor Party, have all the necessary opportunities for successfully implementing the objectives of their long-term plan. The KPDR has already laid a firm foundation for an independent national economy and trained scientific and technical cadres. The patriotic militant spirit of the workers, peasants and intellectuals is quite high. Despite the imperialist threat, the country is confidently looking at the future.

"Our country," Kim Il-song said, "will not develop as has South Korea, which has a foreign debt of \$50 billion. Nothing good can come out of the "sharp growth" based on foreign loans. In developing our economic building we do not intend to rise high with the help of foreign capital in one fell swoop. We wish to advance gradually but steadily, relying on our own efforts" (p 43).

As the materials point out, socialist economic building means waging a systematic struggle for the creation of conditions for independent creative life by the people's masses and for strengthening the material and spiritual foundations of socialism. The full victory of socialism is possible only after a firm material and technical base has been laid. The most important problem in the course of the implementation of the 3rd 7-Year Plan is the energetic technical restructuring of the national economy through the development of science and technology and encouraging the movement for technical innovation. The real status of building socialism in the KPDR urgently requires the accelerated pace of scientific and technical progress. The implementation of the long-term plan and raising the economy to a new and higher level are impossible without daring and active scientific and technical innovation (see p 154).

The solution of these most important national economic problems is inseparable from the broad and comprehensive economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, the PRC and the other socialist countries. Developing relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries, Kim Il-song emphasizes, has been the invariable course followed by the republic's government (see p 176). In this respect the state visits which Kim Il-song paid to the USSR and the European socialist countries in 1984 and the documents signed in the course of these visits are of major significance. "We are satisfied," wrote the leader of the KPDR in 1985, in an address to the leadership and people of the USSR, "that at the present time the traditional friendship, unity and cooperation between the peoples of the two countries—Korea and the Soviet Union—are strengthening with every passing day in a spirit of the agreements reached in the course of last year's meeting with the heads of your party and state in Moscow and we are confident that such relations will continue steadily to expand and develop in an ascending line" (p 16).

Soviet-Korean cooperation is assuming an increasingly broader scope with every passing year. It extends to the heavy, light and power industries, agriculture, science, technology, education and culture. The Soviet people are becoming increasingly more interested in the original and outstanding art of the Korean people, and their paintings, theatre, music and motion pictures. Friendship societies are working actively and fruitfully and relations among creative associations are broadening. The close internationalist relations between the CPSU and the Korean Labor Party and their aspiration for a creative exchange of experience and the utilization of all the resources and opportunities at the disposal of socialism are the binding and guiding factors in their growing cooperation in various areas of social life.

The KPDR is building socialism under specific national conditions. The division of the country and of the formerly single economy, imposed by imperialism, the need to maintain the population in a state of permanent mobilization readiness, bearing the imperialist pressure in mind, and other factors require a significant centralization of economic management. This framework is also defined by the use of cost accounting in the economy. "The socialist economy," Kim Il-song states, "is developing steadily and the new realities of economic development require a corresponding improvement in economic and enterprise management. In all economic sectors economic activities must be conducted on the basis of scientific methods and accurate formulation of plans, computations, and statistical data. We must also improve the efficiency of enterprise management and make effective use of a variety of economic instruments in accordance with the transitional nature of socialist society" (pp 158-159).

In its relations with the socialist countries, the KPDR supports essentially the policy of economic cooperation on a bilateral basis, relations which have already reached

a high standard. Aware of the major role of the common principles and laws of socialism and familiar with international experience, the Korean Labor Party nonetheless particularly emphasized the national-specific aspects of building socialism in the KPDR and its originality and independence. It is on this basis that a truly comradely reciprocal understanding has been developed between the Korean Labor Party and the CPSU.

The Soviet people are well familiar with the difficult circumstances under which the Korean people are building a socialist society. The division of the country, caused by the reactionary forces in the South and American imperialism with a view to hindering social progress, has already lasted 40 years. The right cause of the Korean people—the reunification of the country—is supported by the Soviet people with all their heart. It is entirely understandable that the path to unification goes not only through the Korean peninsula. It is inseparably related to the common struggle against imperialist policy in Asia and the Pacific, to the real improvement of the situation in the area and the development of good neighborly relations. No neoglobalism or great power policy, and no coercion over the nations with a view to involving them in military groups are a basis on which the interests of all Asian countries could agree.

These basic concepts, formulated by the Soviet Union, meet with active support in Kim Il-song's works and speeches.

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Short Book Reviews

18020001s Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) pp 125-127

[Text] "Fridrikh Engels. Zhizn i Deyatelnost" [Friedrich Engels. Life and Activities]. Documents and photographs. By a group of authors: N.N. Ivanov (head), T.D. Belyakova and Ye.P. Krasavina. Progress, Moscow, 1986, 458 pp. Reviewed by V. Arkhipenko.

Izdatelstvo Progress has completed the publication of a documentary trilogy on the life and activities of K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin. These are richly illustrated album-type books, based on documents and materials stored in the Central Party Archives, the library of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and photographs, engravings and drawings from the K. Marx and F. Engels Museum and the V.I. Lenin Central Museum. The book "Karl Marx" was published in 1983; "Vladimir Ilich Lenin" in 1985, and one year later, "Friedrich Engels." This is the first time that the publication of such a unique work has been attempted.

The first two volumes of the trilogy were highly rated by the Soviet and foreign public and there is no doubt that the new book on the closest friend and supporter of the ideas of K. Marx, one of the creators of the theory of scientific communism, the great philosopher and ardent revolutionary, will also have a wide readership.

This is the first time in 10 years that a work has been published which includes virtually all known photographs of Engels. Documents related to the activities of Marx's friend and fellow worker are given in facsimile.

Engels lived and worked at a time saturated with revolutionary events. All of them, from the uprising of the weavers in Lyons to the Paris Commune and the appearance of a revolutionary proletarian movement in Russia, have been reflected in documents, engravings, lithographs, etchings, drawings and photographs of the period. The materials on the Paris Commune and its decrees, posters, drawings, caricatures and photographs are presented particularly vividly.

Most of the historical documents included in the book reflect the most significant landmarks in Engels' life, the comprehensive nature of his creative activities and various aspects of his revolutionary struggle. The reader look at an extract from the civil status documents on the birth of Friedrich Engels and his high school diploma. The book includes a photocopy of the mandate issued by the Workers' Association in Lauzanne to the 28-year old revolutionary as an "old fighter for the interests of the proletariat" and, several pages later, the order of the Prussian government on the investigation and detention of the editor of *Neues Rheinisches Blatt*, in which Engels' distinguishing features are described: light-colored hair, high forehead, blue eyes, reddish beard and a healthy color of the face; a straight bearing. Actually, the reader can judge of his appearance also from a number of drawings and photographs of Engels, from high school to the last days of his life.

The publication also includes facsimiles of the poetic and publicistic efforts of the young Engels, his political articles and works on theory, letters to Marx and fellow workers in the revolutionary struggle J. Weidemeyer, W. Liebknecht, F. Sorge and A. Bebel, and to Russian revolutionary democrats V. Zasulich and N. Daniyelson.

Engels engaged in tireless creative work throughout his conscious life. The book under review includes the following words written in his old age: "...the few years on which I can still rely and the strength which I still have will, as in the past, be totally dedicated to the great cause which I have served for almost 50 years—the cause of the international proletariat."

The work includes about 1,000 different items which leave an ineradicable impression of Friedrich Engels the man, the philosopher and the revolutionary with the highest possible moral qualities, about which, in his obituary article V.I. Lenin wrote: "After his friend Karl

Marx... Engels was the most outstanding scientist and teacher of the contemporary proletariat in the entire civilized world" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 2, p 5).

The publication of the illustrated biography of Friedrich Engels, which completes the trilogy on the founders of Marxism-Leninism, is a good present to the readers on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

"Nemarksistskiye Kontseptsii Sotsializma" [Non-Marxist Concepts of Socialism]. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 328 pp. Reviewed by I. Vasetskiy, candidate of philosophical sciences.

This is the first time that an effort has been made in our scientific literature to provide an overall picture of the latest political-ideological doctrines which reflect the variety of interpretations of socialism by different social forces in the developed capitalist and the liberated countries. The range of such concepts is exceptionally broad. The authors include both the conceptual stipulations of revolutionary democracy, some non-Marxist trends in the labor and mass democratic movements and a variety of "alternative models" and pseudosocialist theories of liberal-bourgeois and openly reactionary ideologues.

Handling such a vast amount of materials on dozens of ideological trends in Western Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, properly classifying them, highlighting their essential features and demarcating among the views of "open and covert enemies and uncommitted and uncommitted sympathizers" (V.I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 25, p 9) is a difficult task for a researcher. At this point it would be easy to simply note facts without correlating them with the twists and turns in real life, a phenomenon which has still not been surmounted in our works on social science. Despite the relatively small size of the monograph, however, its authors have been largely able to solve this problem: to indicate in a concise yet well substantiated manner the socioeconomic, historical and ideological-political origins and class content of the doctrines under consideration. As the authors emphasize, they are the result of the interaction among a number of factors. On the one hand, we have the intensified antagonism between labor and capital, grave contradictions between imperialism and the young liberated countries and the fatal influence of capitalist economic management methods on the environment; on the other, we have the successes achieved by real socialism, the increased popularity of Marxist-Leninist ideas, and spreading antiwar, anti-imperialist and antimonopoly moods. Nonetheless, we must not ignore the fact that some of the concepts appeared by social command of the bourgeoisie, which is trying to mislead the working people by imposing upon them under a pseudo-Marxist cover (such as Trotskyite or anarchist) essentially reactionary ideas which are still capable of misleading some people.

One of the virtues of the authors is the formulation of topical yet little-studied topics, such as the development of various types of socialist-leaning trends and their role and place in politics, ideology and the antiwar struggle. Indicative in this respect, for example, are some segments of the Western European social democratic movement. Awareness of the faults of capitalist society, which has penetrated not only "the working class but also the petit bourgeois and middle classes—the mass base of the social democratic parties," led to the "enhancement of left-wing currents and trends" (p 79). Today many social democrats are reviewing the "classical" reformist concepts of socialism and are ever more strongly questioning the capitalist social system. Such moods cannot fail to be taken into consideration by the social democratic leadership.

The section which discusses ecologists and "Greens," who are active in the mainstream of the mass democratic movements, is of unquestionable interest. In analyzing the basic postulates of their ideological-theoretical doctrines and socialist systems, which are essentially of a loose "above-class" nature, the authors focus their attention on the main features: the anti-imperialist and antiwar nature of these relatively recent social trends. They, the authors conclude, convincingly prove that the shoots of the new way of thinking and sympathy for the ideals of socialism are appearing in a number of political circles in the developed capitalist zone, breaking through encrustations of lies and prejudices.

This logically raises the question of relations between communists, on the one hand, and social democrats, ecologists and "Greens," on the other. The researchers deal briefly with this topic which, however, in our view, is a problem the importance of which merits a deeper interpretation. We know that Western communist parties, without ignoring the essential ideological differences, ascribe prime significance to strengthening political cooperation among all democratic forces. This offers extensive opportunities for waging a successful struggle for better living conditions and peace, for the solution of global problems and against the arms race, the nuclear-missile race above all.

Let us conclude with two other essential remarks. The fact that the authors have quite clearly differentiated their approach to the study of the variety of ideological trends does not eliminate the question of the accuracy of the widespread concept pertaining to "neo-Marxist" trends, which treats as a common denominator the social concepts of progressive and democratic non-Marxist trends within the labor, national-liberation and antiwar movements, and the reactionary and essentially proimperialist doctrines which are profoundly hostile to socialism. Clearly, the shortest definition is not necessarily the most accurate one. It unwittingly contributes to the shaping of ideas about a certain commonality of politically opposite ideological concepts of the allies of the revolutionary working class (and even the reformist segment of the proletariat), on the one hand, and the

pseudosocialist theories formulated by bourgeois and even feudal ideologues, in an effort to mislead the toiling masses. Secondly, the "theology of liberation," which is mentioned in the book in passing, which draws the sympathy of millions of impoverished people in Latin America and Asia, Africa and even in the industrially developed Western countries, deserves, in my view, closer attention and a more thorough scientific evaluation.

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After Publication in KOMMUNIST

18020001t Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 87 (signed to press 25 Aug 87) p 127

[Text] In answer to the critical remarks on the unsatisfactory condition of the statistical base for demographic studies, which were expressed in *Kommunist*, the USSR State Committee for Statistics (formerly USSR Central Statistical Administration) has reported, in addition to its letter on the program being drafted to improve this base (see number 6 for 1987, p 127), on the specific steps which the committee intends to take in the next few years. As A. Nevzorov has informed the editors, the broadest possible processing and publication of the materials of the All-Union 1989 Population Census is being contemplated with a view to ensuring further improvements in statistical support for scientific research in the demographic field; to speed up the development of an integral information system on the population and, on its basis, to expand the program for the study of the natural dynamics and migrations of the Soviet population, particularly on the territorial and social levels; regularly to conduct selective population studies, which will provide a comprehensive characterization of sociodemographic phenomena (in particular, marriage and birth rates and the views of women on the expected number of children). The letter also reports on the decision to prepare analytical data on 10-year changes in the size and sociodemographic structure of the country's population, based on the 1979 and 1980 censuses and data from the current annual population censuses. The efficiency and analytical nature of the information concerning the population will be enhanced in order to ensure its regular publication in the journal *Vestnik Statistiki* and other periodicals. The range of statistical data published on demographic subjects will be broadened significantly. A decision has been made to prepare for publication the statistical collection "Naseleniye SSSR" [Population of the USSR].

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Meetings With the Editors

18020001u Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 13,
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[Text] A meeting was held between Timo Ravela, senior associate of *Kommunisti*, the political and theoretical journal of the Finnish Communist Party Central Committee, and the editors. Problems of the radical restructuring of Soviet economic management and extensive democratization of social life in the USSR, the new philosophy of peace guiding the CPSU and the Soviet state in their foreign policy, and cooperation between the journals, were discussed.

The contemporary domestic policy of the CPSU, problems of democratization within Soviet society and the study and interpretation of history were the topics of a discussion held between *KOMMUNIST* editors and G. Schumacher, responsible editor of *Neue Gesellschaft* (FRG), the theoretical journal of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The discussion also covered prospects for the development of creative relations between the two publications.

The journal was visited by a group of associates of the newspaper IOMIURI (Japan). The guests were interested in the ways and means of solving typical problems of the qualitative renovation of all areas of social life in our country, the course of restructuring of party work and the specific experience of party organizations. In answer to the questions of the Japanese journalists, the editors described the journal's activities.

The editors were visited by professor S. Mendlowits, one of the leaders of the international nongovernmental research project "Models of World Order." In the course of the meeting views were exchanged on the prospects for global socioeconomic and political development by the

turn of the 21st century, and the vital need for international cooperation in solving the global problems of our time and the creation of a nuclear-free world on the basis of giving priority to universal human values.

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"Kommunist", 1987.

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Publication Data

18020001v Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian (signed to
press 25 Aug 87) No 13, Sep 87

English Title: *Kommunist* No 13, September 1987

Russian Title: *Kommunist* 13(1311) Sentyabr 1987

Editorial Board: N.B. Bikkenin (editor-in-chief), A.I. Antipov, E.A. Arab-Ogly, B.S. Arkhipov, K.N. Brutents, I.A. Dedkov, V.I. Kadulin, S.V. Kolesnikov, O.R. Latsis, Yu.L. Molchanov, Ye.Z. Razumov, V.F. Rubtsov, N.N. Sibiriyakov, Yu.A. Sklyarov, B.P. Trubnikov, P.N. Fedoseyev, S.F. Yarmolyuk.

Publishing House: Izdatelstvo "Pravda".

Place of Publication: Moscow

Date of Publication: September 1987

Signed to Press: 25 August 1987

Copies: 1,065,000

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